

1029
489.a.18

AN IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF

MICHAEL SERVETUS,

Burnt Alive at

GENEVA

FOR

HERESIE.

K.

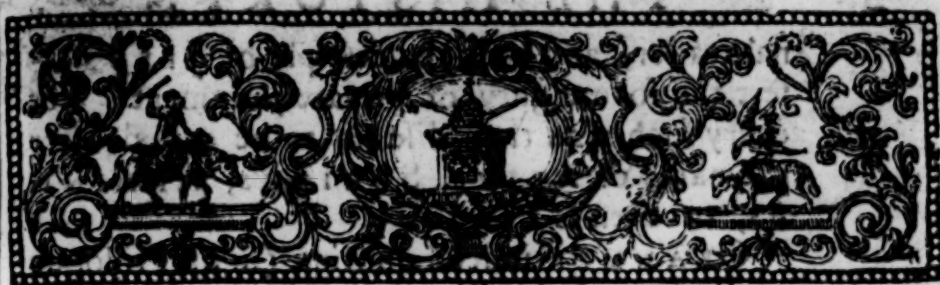


L O N D O N :

Printed for AARON WARD, at the King's-Arms
in Little-Britain. 1724.



969



THE
HISTORY
OF
SERVETUS, &c.



HOEVER has reason'd
himself into a belief of
the religion of the greatest
reformer, that ever ap-
pear'd in the world; I
mean, the author of that
christianity, that is to be
found in the New Testa-
ment, cannot but be pleas'd

with those agreeable sentiments which will a-
rise in his mind, from that prohibition of his;
But be ye not called *Rabbi*, for one is your ma-
ster, even CHRIST, and all ye are brethren,

Mat. xxij. 8. Or according to * CRANMER'S * Or as
translation: But be not ye called *Rabbi*, for one the Orig.
is your doctor, even CHRIST. Upon this me- ^{ὁ ἡγούμενος}
thinks I see the perfect image of christian liberty, ^{ἡς, 'Head}
immediately spring up in the soul of the ratio- ^{or Guide.}

B

nal

THE HISTORY

nal reader, and bids the disciple of JESUS assert the sovereignty of private judgment. Let every such man then disdain to be called after the name of ARIUS, SOCINUS, ARMINIUS, or even CALVIN.

CRANMER indeed quoting (in his Prologue or Preface to his Bible) St. CHRYSOSTOM, and GREGORY NAZAIANZEN, says, that the former would have all men to read the sacred scriptures; but that he forbids christian men to *reason*.

That learned reformer seems to be aware, that CHRYSOSTOM, in that prohibition, might not be guided by an infallible spirit; and therefore with a modesty becoming so great a man, he wisely took care to say beforehand, in answer to a question (much agitated among the priests in those times) *viz.* What it avayleth the scripture to be had and read by the lay and vulgare people? "And to this question I intend here to say nothing, but that" "was written and spoken by the noble doctor, "and moral divine, S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, "in his third sermon, *De Lazaro*": And because the rest of that preface contains so many nervous and beautiful passages (except the punning cautions about the laity's reasoning upon scripture) I have thrown 'em into the margin*:

* Albeit,
I will be
something

And

shorter, and gather the matter into fewer words, and less room than he doth there, because I would not be tedious. He exhorteth there his audience, that every man should read by himself at home in the mean days time, between sermon and sermon, to the intent they might both the more profoundly fix in their minds and memories, that he had said before on such texts whereupon he had already preached; and also, that they might have their minds more ready, and better prepared to receive and perceive, that which he should say from thenceforth in his sermons, upon such texts

texts as he had not yet declared and preached upon : Therefore, saith he there, my common usage is to give you warning before, what matter I intend after to intreat upon, that you your selves, in the mean days, may take the book in hand, read, weigh, and perceive the sum and effect of the matter ; and make what hath been declared, and what remaineth yet to be declared, so that thereby your mind may be the more furnished to hear the rest that shall be said ; and that I exhort you, and ever have, and will exhort you, that you, not only here in the church, give ear to that that is said by the preacher ; but that also when you be at home in your houses, ye apply your selves, from time to time, to the reading of the holy scriptures ; which thing I never lin to beat into the ears of them that be my familiars, and with whom I have private acquaintance and conversation. Let no man make excuse, and say, saith he, I am busied about matters of the commonwealth ; I bear this office, or that ; I am a craftsman ; I must apply mine occupation ; I have a wife ; my children must be fed ; my household must be provided for ; briefly, I am a man of the world. It is not for me to read the scriptures, that belongeth to them that have bid the world farewell, which live in solitariness and contemplations, and have been brought up, and continually nouzel'd in learning and religion : To this answering, what saith thou man, saith he, is it not for thee to study and read the scripture, because thou art distracted and incumber'd with cares and business. So much the more behoveal it is for thee to have defence of scriptures ; how much the more thou art distressed in worldly dangers. They that be free, may be soon oppressed with over hard questions. I say not this to diswade men from the knowledge of GOD, and reading and studying of the scripture ; for I say, that it is as necessary for man's soul, as for the body to breathe ; and if it were possible so to live, I would think it good for a man to spend all his life in that, and to do none other thing. I commend the law which biddeth to meditate, and study the scriptures always, both night and day ; and sermons to be made, and preaching both morning, noon, and eventide ; and GOD to be lauded and blessed in all times to bedward, from bed, and in our journies, and in all in other works. I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason : Neither forbid I to reason so far as is good and godly ; but I allow not that is done out of season, and out of order and good measure : A man may eat too much of honey, be it never so sweet ; and there is time for every thing ; and that that is good, is not good, if it be ungodly done ; even as a flower in winter is out of season, and as a woman's apparel becometh not a man, neither contrarily the man's the woman ; neither is weeping convenient at a bridal, neither laughing at a burial. Now if a man observe and keep that is timely and comely in all other things, shall we not then the rather do the same in the holy scriptures ? Let us not run forth as it were wild horses, that can suffer neither bridle in their mouths, nor litter on their backs ; let us keep us in our bounds ; and neither let us go too

far on the one side, lest we return into *Egypt*; neither too far on the other, lest we be carried into *Babylon*; let us not sing the song of our Lord in a strange land; that is, let us not dispute the word of GOD in all adventures, as well where it is not to be reason'd, as where it is; and as well in the ears of them that be not fit therefore as them that be, if we can in no wise forbear, but that we must needs dispute, let us forbear, thus much at least, to do it out of time and place convenient; and let us ever treat of those things which be holy, holily; and upon those things mystical, mystically, and not to utter the divine mysteries in the ears unworthy to hear them; but let us know what is comely, as well in our silence and talking, as in our garments wearing, in our feeding, in our goings, and in all our other behaving: this contention and debates about scriptures, and doubts thereof, specially when such as do pretend to be the favourers and students thereof, cannot agree among themselves, doth most hurt to ourselves, and to the furthering of the cause, and quarrels that we should have furthered above all other things. And we in this (saith he) be not unlike to them that being mad, set their own houses on fire, and slay their own children, or beat their own parents: and marvel much saith he, to recount, whereof cometh all the desire of vain glory, whereof cometh all this tongue itch, that we have so much delight to talk and clatter; and wherein is our communication, not in the commendation of virtuous and good deeds, of hospitality, of christian love between brother and brother, of love between man and wife, of virginity and chastity, and of alms towards the poor; not in psalms and godly songs, not in lamenting for our sins, not in repressing the affection of the body, not in prayers to GOD. We talk of scripture, but in the mean time, we subdue not our flesh by fasting, watching, and weeping; we make not the life a meditation of death; we do not strive to be lords over our affections and appetites; we go not about to pull down our proud and high minds, to abate our sumish and rancorous stomachs; to restrain our lust and bodily delectations; our undiscreeit sorrows, and lascivious mirth; our inordinate looking; our insatiate hearing of vanities; our speaking without measure; our inconvenient thoughts; and briefly, to reform our life and manners, and all our holiness consisteth but in talking, and we pardon each other from all good living, so that we may stick fast together in argumentation, as though there were no more ways to heaven but that alone, the way of speculation and knowledge, as they take it; but in very deed, its the way, rather of superfluous contention and sophistication. Hitherto have I recited the mind of GREGORY NAZIANZENE in that book which I spake of before: The same author said also in another place, That the learning of a christian man ought to begin of the fear of GOD, to end with matters of high speculation; and not to begin with speculation, and to end in fear; for speculation, saith he, either high cunning or knowledge, if it be not stay'd with the bridle of fear to offend GOD, is dangerous, and enough to tumble a man head-long

long down the hill; therefore, saith he, the fear of GOD must be the first beginning, and as it were an A. B. C. or an introduction to all them that shall enter into the very true and most fruitful knowledge of holy scriptures: whereas, saith he, is the fear of GOD, and whereas is the keeping of the commandments, there is the cleansing of the flesh, which flesh is a cloud before the soul's eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of the heavenly light; whereas to the cleansing of the flesh, there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of all our desires, and the very light wherein the verity of the scriptures is seen, and perceiv'd. This is the mind, and almost the words of GREGORY NAZIANZENE, doctor of the *Greek* church, of whom St. JEROME saith, that unto his name, the *Latin* church had no writer able to be compared, and to make an even match with him.

And now with a due deference to the judgement of the preceding churchmen, I will venture to say, that the New Testament is human reason refin'd; and whatever is contrary to or above that reason, is real popery: And whether the constitution of the church at *Geneva* was at first founded upon the former, or the latter, let the reader judge; when he has read the following quotation out of HOOKER'S preface to his *Eccle. Pol.* † where you have the full character of CALVIN, as head of the *Genevan* discipline. "A founder it had, "whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the *French* church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law; divine knowledge, he gathered not by hearing or reading so much, as by teaching others: for though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind; yet he to none, but only to GOD, the author of that most blessed fountain, the book of life; and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides; till being occasion'd to leave *France*, he fell " at

† Vide
Windet's
Ed. Lon.
P. 5. N^o 2.

“ at the length upon *Geneva*, which city the
 “ bishop and clergy thereof had a little before
 “ (as some do affirm) forsaken, being of like-
 “ lyhood, frighted with the Peoples sudden
 “ attempt, for abolishment of *popish* religion;
 “ the event of which enterprize, they thought
 “ it not safe for themselves to wait for in that
 “ place. At the coming of CALVIN thither,
 “ the form of their civil regiment was popular,
 “ as it continueth at this day; neither king,
 “ nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority
 “ or power over them, but officers chosen by
 “ the people yearly out of themselves, to order
 “ all things with publick consent. For spiritu-
 “ al government, they had no laws at all a-
 “ greed upon, but did what the pastors of
 “ their souls by persuation could win them
 “ unto. CALVIN being admitted one of
 “ their preachers, and a divinity reader a-
 “ mongst them, considered how dangerous it
 “ was, that the whole estate of that church
 “ should hang still on so slender a thread, as
 “ the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if
 “ it have power to change whatsoever it self
 “ listeth.

“ Wherefore taking unto him two of the
 “ other ministers for more countenance of the
 “ action (albeit the rest were all against it)
 “ they moved, and in the end perswaded,
 “ with much ado, the people to bind them-
 “ selves, by solemn oath, *first*, never to admit
 “ the papacy amongst them again; and, *secondly*,
 “ to live in obedience unto such orders, con-
 “ cerning the exercise of their religion, and
 “ the form of their ecclesiastical government,
 “ as those their true and faithful ministers of
 “ God’s word, had, agreeably to scripture,
 “ set

“ set down for that end and purpose. When
“ these things began to be put in ure, the
“ people also (what causes moving them there-
“ unto themselves best know) began to repent
“ them of that they had done, and irefully to
“ champ upon the bit they had taken unto
“ their mouths, the rather, for that they grew,
“ by means of this innovation, into dislike
“ with some churches near about them, the
“ benefit of whose good friendship their state
“ could not well lack. It was the manner of
“ those times (whether through mens desire
“ to enjoy alone the glory of their own en-
“ terprises, or else because the quickness of
“ their occasions require present dispatch) so
“ it was, that every particular church did that
“ within it self which some few of their own
“ thought good, by whom the rest were all
“ directed. Such number of churches then
“ being, though free within themselves, yet
“ small, common conference beforehand,
“ might have eased them of much after-trou-
“ ble. But a greater inconvenience it bred,
“ that every later endeavoured to be certain
“ degrees more removed from conformity
“ with the church of *Rome*, than the rest had
“ been : whereupon grew marvelous great
“ dissimilitudes; and by reason thereof, jea-
“ lousies, heart-burnings, jars, and discords
“ amongst them ; which notwithstanding might
“ have easily been prevented, if the orders of
“ each church did think fit and convenient
“ for it self, had not so peremptorily been
“ established under that high commanding
“ form, which tendered them unto the people,
“ as things everlastingly required by the law
“ of that LORD of lords, against whose sta-
“ tutes

" tutes there is no exception to be taken. For
 " by this mean it came to pass, that one church
 " could not but accuse and condemn another
 " of disobedience to the will of CHRIST, in
 " those things where manifest difference was
 " between them : Whereas the self-same or-
 " ders allowed, but yet established in more
 " wary and suspense manner, as being to
 " stand in force till GOD should give the op-
 " portunity of some general conference, what
 " might be best for every of them afterwards
 " to do ; this, I say, had both prevented all
 " occasion of just dislike, which others might
 " take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the
 " authors themselves, of entering into farther
 " consultation afterwards ; which, though never
 " so necessary, they could not easily now ad-
 " mit, without some fear of derogation from
 " their credit ; and therefore that which once
 " they had done, they became for ever after
 " resolute to maintain. CALVIN therefore,
 " and the other two his associates, stiffly refusing
 " to administer the holy communion to such
 " who would not quietly, without contra-
 " diction and murmur, submit themselves un-
 " to the orders which their solemn oath had
 " bound them to obey, were, in that quarrel,
 " banished the town. A few years after (such
 " was the levity of that people) the places of
 " one or two of their ministers being fallen
 " void, they were not before so willing to be
 " rid of their learned pastor, as now impor-
 " tunate to obtain him again from them who
 " had given him entertainment, and which
 " were loath to part with him, had not unre-
 " sistable earnestness been used. One of the
 " town ministers, that saw in what manner
 " the

" the people were bent for the revocation
 " of CALVIN, gave him notice of their af-
 " fection in this sort : * The senate of two * *Epist.*
 " hundred being assembled, they all crave *CAL. 24.*
 " CALVIN. The next day a general convo-
 " cation. They cry in like sort again all ;
 " we will have CALVIN, that good and learn-
 " ed man, CHRIST'S minister. This, saith
 " he, when I understoode I could not choose
 " but praise GOD, nor was I able to judge
 " otherwise than that this was the Lordes do-
 " ing ; and that it was marveilous in our
 " eyes ; and that the stone which the build-
 " ers refused, was now made the head of
 " the corner †. The other two, whom they † *Luk.xx.*
 " had thrown out, (together with CALVIN) ^{17.}
 " they were content should enjoy their exile.
 " Many causes might leade them to be more
 " desirous of him. First his yeelding unto them
 " in one thing, might happily put them in
 " hope, that time would breede the like easi-
 " ness of condescending further unto them.
 " For in his absence he had perswaded them,
 " with whom he was able to prevail, that al-
 " beit himself did better like of common
 " bread to be used in the eucharist, yet the
 " other they rather should accept, than cause
 " any trouble in the church about it. Again,
 " they saw that the name of CALVIN waxed
 " every day greater abroad ; and that, together
 " with his fame, their infamie was spread,
 " which had sorashly and childishly ejected him.
 " Besides, it was not unlikely, but that his
 " credit in the world might many waies stand
 " the poor town in great stead : As the truth
 " is, their ministers forreign estimation hither-
 " to, hath been the best stake in their hedge.
 " C " But

" But whatsoever secret respects were likely
 " to move them, for contenting of their minds,
 " CALVIN return'd (as it had bene another
 " TULLY) to his old home. He ripely
 " considered how grosse a thing it were for
 " men of his qualitie, wise and grave men, to
 " live with such a multitude, and to be te-
 " nants at will under them, as their ministers,
 " both himself and others, had bene. For
 " the remedy of which inconvenience, he
 " gave them plainly to understande, that if he
 " did become their teacher againe, they must
 " be content to admit a complet forme of
 " discipline; which both they, and also their
 " pastors, should now be solemnly sworn to
 " observe for ever after. Of which discipline,
 " the main and principale partes were these:
 " A standing ecclesiasticall court to be esta-
 " blished; perpetuall judges in that court to
 " be their ministers, others of the people an-
 " nually chosen twice so many in number as
 " they to be judges together with them in the
 " same court: * *These two sorts to have the care*
 " *of all mens manners, power of determining all*
 " *kind of ecclesiasticall causes, and authoritie to*
 " *convent, to controll, to punish, as farre as with*
 " *excommunication, whomsoever they should thinke*
 " *worthy, none, eyther small or great, excepted.*
 " This devise I see not how the wisest, at that
 " time lyving, could have bettered, if we
 " duely consider what the present estate of
 " Geneva did then require. For their bishop
 " and his Clergie being (as it is sayd) de-
 " parted from them by moone-light †; or how-
 " soever, being departed, to choose in his
 " roome any other bishop, had been a thing
 " altogether impossible. And for their mini-
 " sters

* Down-
 right po-
 pery and
 inquisition.

† Alias
 owle-light,
 or ignis fa-
 tuus.

“sters to seeke that themselves alone might
 “have coërcive power over the whole church,
 “would perhaps have beene hardly construed
 “at that time. But when so franke an offer
 “was made, that for every one minister, there
 “should be two of the people to sit and give
 “voyce in the ecclesiastical consistorie, what
 “inconvenience could they easily find, which
 “themselves might not be able alwaies to re-
 “medy? Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort
 “are, even when they see no apparent cause,
 “jealous notwithstanding over the secret in-
 “tents and purposes of wiser men) this pro-
 “position of his did somewhat trouble them.
 “Of the ministers themselves, which had
 “staied behind in the citie, when CALVIN
 “was gone, some, upon knowledge of the
 “peoples earnest intent to recall him to his
 “place again, had beforehand written their let-
 “ters of submission, and assured him of their
 “allaegance for ever after, if it should like
 “him, to hearken unto that publique suite.
 “But yet misdoubting what might happen,
 “if this discipline did goe forward, they
 “objected against the example of other re-
 “formed churches, living quietly and orderly
 “without it. Some of the chiefeest place and
 “countenance amongst the laitie, profess’d
 “with greater stomacke their judgments, that
 “such a discipline was little better than po-
 “pish tyranny disguised and rendered unto
 “them under a new forme [*too true to make a*
 “*jest on*]. This sort, it may be, had some
 “feare that the filling up of the seats in the
 “consistorie, with so great a number of lay-
 “men, was but to please the minds of the
 “people, to the end they might think their

" owne swaye somewhat ; but when things
 " came to tryall of practice, their pastors
 " learning would be at all times of force to
 " over-perswade simple men, who knowing
 " the time of their owne presidentship to be
 " but short, would always stande in feare of
 " their ministers perpetuall authoritie : And
 " among the ministers themselves, one being
 " so farre in estimation above the rest, the
 " voyces of the rest were likely to be given
 " for the most part respectively, with a kind of
 " secreet dependencie and awe : So that in
 " shewe, a marvelous indifferently composed
 " senate ecclesiasticall was to governe ; but in
 " effect one onely man shoulde, as the spirite
 " and soule of the residue, do all in all.
 " But what did these vaine surmises boote ?
 " Brought they were now to so streight an
 " issue, that of two things, they must choose
 " one ; namely, whether they would, to their
 " endlesse disgrace, with ridiculous lightnes,
 " dismisse him, whose restitution they had in
 " so impotent manner desired ; or else conde-
 " scend unto that demaund, wherein he was
 " resolute eyther to have it, or to leave them ?
 " They thought it better to be somewhat
 " hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad
 " discredited : Wherefore in the ende, those
 " orders were on all sides assented * unto ;
 " with no lesse alacritie of minde, than cities
 " unable to holde out longer, are woont to
 " shewe, when they take conditions, such as
 " it liketh him to offer them, which hath them
 " in the narrowe streightes of advantage.
 " Not many yeares were overpassed, before
 " these twice-sworne men adventured to give
 " their last and whotest assault to the fortresse
 " of

* An.Dom.
 1541.

“ the same discipline, childishly granting by
“ common consent of their whole senate; and
“ that under their towne seal, a relaxation to
“ one BERTELIER, whom the eldership had
“ excommunicated; further also decreeing,
“ with strange absurditie, that to the same
“ senate it should belong to give finall judg-
“ ment in matter of excommunication, and
“ to absolve whom it pleased them; cleane
“ contrarie to their owne former deeds, and
“ oathes. The respect of which decree be-
“ ing forthwith brought unto CALVIN;
“ *before (sayth he) this decree takes place, ei-*
“ *ther my bloud or banishment shall signe it.* Again
“ two dayes before the communion should bee
“ celebrated, his speech was to this effect:
“ Kill me, if ever this hand do reach forth
“ the things that are holy to them whom the
“ church hath judged despisers. Whereupon,
“ for fear of tumult, the fore-named BERTE-
“ LIER was by his friends advised, for
“ that time, not to use the liberty granted
“ him by the senate, nor to present himself
“ in the church, till they sawe somewhat fur-
“ ther, what would ensue. After the com-
“ munion quietly ministred, and some likeli-
“ hooode of peaceable ending these troubles,
“ without any more adoe, that very day in
“ the afternoon, besides all mens expecta-
“ tion, concluding his ordinary sermon, he
“ telleth them, that because he neither had
“ learned nor taught to strive with such as are
“ in authoritie, therefore (saith he) the case
“ so standing, as now it doth, let me use those
“ words of the apostle unto you, I commend
“ you unto GOD, and the word of his grace,
“ and so bad them heartily all adieu. It some-
“ times

“ times commeth to passe, that the readiest
 “ way which a wise man has to conquer, is
 “ to flie. This voluntarie and unexpected
 “ mention of suddaine departure, caused pre-
 “ sently the senate (for according to their
 “ woonted manner, they still continued only
 “ constant in unconstancy) to gather them-
 “ selves together, and for a time to suspend
 “ their own decree, leaving things to pro-
 “ ceed as before, till they had heard the
 “ judgement of foure *Helvetian* cities, con-
 “ cerning the matter which was in strife.
 “ This to have done at the first, before they
 “ gave assent unto any order, had shewed
 “ some wit and discretion in them : But now
 “ to do it, was as much as to say, in effect,
 “ that they would play their parts on a stage.
 “ CALVIN therefore dispatcheth, with all
 “ expedition, his letters unto some principall
 “ pastor in every of those cities; craving
 “ earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause,
 “ as a thing whereupon the whole state of re-
 “ ligion and piety in that church did so much
 “ depend, that GOD, and all good men,
 “ were now inevitably certaine to be trampled
 “ under foot; unless those four cities, by
 “ their good means, might be brought to give
 “ sentence with the ministers of *Geneva*, when
 “ the cause should be brought before them;
 “ yea, so to give it, that two things it might
 “ effectually containe; the one an absolute
 “ approbation of the discipline of *Geneva*, as
 “ consonant unto the word of GOD, without
 “ any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands;
 “ the other an earnest admonition, not to in-
 “ novate or change the same; [*O infallibility!*]
 “ His vehement request herein, as touching
 “ both

“ both points, was satisfied. For albeit the
“ said *Helvetian* churches did never, as yet,
“ observe that discipline; nevertheless the
“ senate of *Geneva* having required their
“ judgment concerning these three questions:
“ * *First*, after what manner, by GOD’S * *Ep. 166.*
“ commandment, according to the scripture,
“ and unspotted religion, excommunication is
“ to be exercised. *Secondly*, whether it may
“ not be exercised some other way, than by
“ the consistory. *Thirdly*, what the use of
“ their churches was to doe in this case.
“ Answer was returned, from the said churches,
“ that they had heard already of those con-
“ sistoriall lawes, and did acknowledge them
“ to be godly ordinances, drawing towards
“ the prescript of the word of GOD; for
“ which cause, they did not think it good
“ for the church of *Geneva*, by innovation, to
“ change the same, but rather to keepe them
“ as they were. Which aunswere, although
“ not answering to the former demaundes,
“ but respecting what M. CALVIN had
“ judged requisite for them to answer, was
“ notwithstanding accepted without any fur-
“ ther reply; inasmuch as they plainly saw,
“ that when stomacke doth strive with wit,
“ the match is not equall; and so the heat of
“ their former contentions began to flake.
“ The present inhabitants of *Geneva*, I hope
“ will not take it evill part, that the falti-
“ nesse of their people heretofore, is by us
“ so farre forth layd open, as their owne
“ learned guides and pastors have thought ne-
“ cessarie to discover it unto the world: for
“ out of their bookes and writings it is, that
“ I have collected this whole narration, to
“ the

* Quod
eam ur-
bem vide-
ret omni-
no his fræ-
nis indige-
re.

“ the end it might thereby appeare, in what
 “ fort amongst them that discipline was plant-
 “ ed for which so much contention is raised
 “ amongst our selves. The reason which
 “ mooved CALVIN herein to be so earnest,
 “ was, as BEZA himselfe testifyeth, ** for that*
 “ *he saw how needfull these bridles were to*
 “ *be put in the jawes of that citie.* That
 “ which by wisdom he saw to be requisite
 “ for that people, was by as great wisdom
 “ compassed. But wise men are men, and
 “ the truth is truth. That which CALVIN
 “ did for establishment of his discipline,
 “ seemeth more commendable than that
 “ which he taught for the countenancing of
 “ it established. Nature worketh in us all a
 “ love to our owne counsels. The contra-
 “ diction of others, is a fanne to inflame that
 “ love. Our love set on fire to maintaine
 “ that which once we have done, sharpneth
 “ the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all
 “ means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvaile
 “ it were, if a man of so great capacitie,
 “ having such incitements to make him desi-
 “ rous of all kind of furtherances unto his
 “ cause, could espie in the whole scripture of
 “ GOD, nothing which might breed at the
 “ least a probable opinion of likelihood, that
 “ divine authoritie it selfe was the same way
 “ somewhat inclinable. And all which, the
 “ wit even of CALVIN was able from
 “ thence to drawe, by sifting the very utmost
 “ sentence and syllable, is no more than that
 “ certaine speeches there are, which to him
 “ did seeme to intimate, that all christian
 “ churches ought to have their elderships in-
 “ dued with power of excommunication; and
 “ that

“ that a part of those elderships, every where,
“ should be chosen out from amongst the laitie,
“ after that forme which himselfe had framed
“ *Geneva* unto. But what argument are yee
“ able to shewe, whereby it was ever prooved
“ by CALVIN, that any one sentence of
“ scripture doth necessarily enforce these
“ thinges, or the rest wherein your opinion
“ concurrith with his against the orders of
“ your owne church? We should be injurious
“ unto vertue it self, if we did derogate
“ from them whome their industrie hath made
“ great. Two things of principall moment
“ there are which have deservedly procured
“ him honour throughout the worlde: The
“ one is his exceeding paynes in composing
“ the institutions of christian religion; the
“ other, his no lesse industrious travailes for
“ exposition of holy scripture, according unto
“ the same institutions. In which two thinges,
“ whosoever they were that after him bestow-
“ ed their labour; hee gayned the advantage
“ of prejudice against them, if they gain-
“ sayde; and of glorie, above them, if they
“ consented. His writings, published after the
“ question about that discipline was once
“ begunne, omit not any the least occasion
“ of extolling the use and singuler necessitie
“ thereof. Of what accompt the maister of
“ sentences was in the church of *Rome*, the
“ same, and more amongst the preachers of
“ reformed churches CALVIN had pur-
“ chased: so that the perfectest divines were
“ judged they, which were skilfullest in CAL-
“ VIN’S writings: His bookes almost the
“ very canon to judge both doctrine and
“ discipline by. *French* churches, both under
D “ others

“ others abroad, and at home in their owne
 “ cuntry.” The *French* protestant liturgie,
 was by CALVIN’S direction; and wisemen
 have observ’d, that there is not one collect
 of adoration or praise to almighty GOD
 in the whole; all petition, contrary to the
 just and comprehensive definition of prayer,
 by the Apostle PAUL, in its *two essential*
 parts of making our requests known to
 him with thanksgiving; “ all cast according
 “ unto that mould which CALVIN had
 “ made. The church of *Scotland*, in erecting
 “ the fabricke of their reformation, tooke the
 “ selfe-same paterne; till at length the disci-
 “ pline, which was at the first so weake, that
 “ without the staffe of their approbation,
 “ who were not subject unto it themselves, it
 “ had not brought others under subjection,
 “ beganne now to challenge universall obedi-
 “ ence, and to enter into open conflict with
 “ those very churches, which in desperate ex-
 “ tremitie had been relievers of it. To one
 “ of those churches, which lived in most
 “ peaceable sort, and abounded as well with
 “ men for their learning in other professions
 “ singular, as also with divines, whose equals
 “ were not elsewhere to be found; a church
 “ ordered by GUALTER’S discipline, and not
 “ by that which *Geneva* adoreth: Unto this
 “ church, the church of *Heidelberge*, there
 “ commeth one, who craving leave to dispute
 “ publickly, defendeth with open disdain of
 “ their government, that to a minister, with his
 “ eldership, power is given by the lawe of
 “ GOD to excommunicate whomsoever, yea,
 “ even kings and princes themselves. Here
 “ were the seedes sowne of that controversie,
 “ which

“ which sprang up betweene *BEZA* and
“ *ERASTUS*, about the matter of excommu-
“ nication, whether there ought to be in all
“ churches an eldership, having power to ex-
“ communicate, and a part of that eldership
“ to be of necessitie certain chosen out from
“ amongst the laitie for that purpose. In
“ which disputation they have, as to me it
“ seemeth, devided very equally the truth be-
“ tween them; *BEZA* most truely mainteyn-
“ ing the necessity of excommunication,
“ *ERASTUS* as truely the non-necessitie of
“ lay-elders to be ministers thereof. Amongest
“ our selves, there was, in king *EDWARD*’s
“ days, some question moved, by reason of a
“ few mens scrupulositie, touching certain
“ things. And beyond seas, of them which
“ fled in the days of queen *MARY*, some
“ contenting themselves abroad with the use
“ of their own service-booke at home, au-
“ thorized before their departure out of the
“ realme, others liking better the common-
“ prayer-booke of the church of *Geneva* tran-
“ slated, those smaller contentions before be-
“ gun, were, by this meane, somewhat in-
“ creased. Under the happy raigne of her
“ majestie, which now is, the greatest matter
“ a while contended for, was the wearing of
“ the cap and surplesse, till there came admo-
“ nitions directed unto the high court of par-
“ liament, by men, who concealing their
“ names, thought it glory enough to discover
“ their mindes and affections, which now
“ were universally bent even against all the or-
“ ders and lawes wherein this church is found
“ unconformable to the platforme of *Geneva*.
“ Concerning the defendor of which admoni-
“ tions,

" tions, all that I meane to say is but this ;
 " *There will come a time when three words,*
 " *uttered with charity and meekness, shall re-*
 " *ceive a farre more blessed rewarde than*
 " *three thousand volumes, written with dis-*
 " *dainefull sharpnes of wit. But the maner*
 " of mens writing, must not alienate our
 " hearts from the truth, if it appear they
 " have the truth, as the followers of the same
 " defendor doth think he hath ; and in that
 " perswasion they follow him no otherwise
 " than himselfe doth CALVIN, BEZA and
 " others, with the like perswasion, that they,
 " in this cause, had the truth ; we being as
 " fully perswaded otherwise, it resteth, that
 " some kind of triall be used to finde out which
 " part is in error."

Upon this I observe, (*First,*) The great
 difference between the spirit and character
 of this judicious and learned author, and
 those of CALVIN ; that the former treats
 the latter with quite another temper than
 CALVIN did his adversary, SERVETUS ;
 for the one acted upon christian principles,
 and the other upon popish, as the sequel of
 of this history will make it plainly appear :
 For I shall shew that CALVIN would not spare
 SERVETUS after his death, tho' he had be-
 fore glutted his cruel mind with his blood.
 If Mr. CALVIN died in this temper, it
 can't be said he died a christian ; for the a-
 postle PAUL freely owns himself to be of the
 class of the chief of sinners, or in other
 words, to have been a very wicked man ;
 and that had he not repented of his blas-
 phemy and persecution, and been converted
 in

in the genius of his soul, he could not have obtained mercy. The same judgment, I imagine, the famous Bp. PEARSON had form'd in the beginning of his *Pauline Annales*, concerning the apostle PAUL's conduct, before his conversion to christianity, which I thus translate.

[ANNALES PAULINI, in Bp. PEARSON'S ANNI
Latin Posthumous Works.] Æræ vul-
garis 34. TIBERIA
ab Aug. 19.
20, 21.

This year of our LORD, the 21st of * TI-
BERIUS, a cruel persecution arose, occasion'd
by the high priest and his sanhedrim, in
which, (St. STEPHEN, the chief of the seven
deacons, suffer'd stoning; and when his blood
was spilt, SAUL, then a young man, stood by,
and gave his consent, *Acts* xxij. 20. Whereas
PHILIP, the second of the seven deacons,
went into *Samaria*, and the common tables of
the disciples were disturb'd, and not a few of
them left not only *Jerusalem*, but likewise
Judea.

* Hoc
anno do-
mini la-
bente, TI-
BERII
21, Hiero-
solyimis
gravis or-
ta est per-
secutio per
summum
sacerdo-

The

tem & synedrium: In quâ primò S. STEPHANUS lapidatus est,
VII diaconorum primus; & cum effunderetur sanguis ejus, SAU-
LUS adhuc juvenis adstabat & consentiebat, *Act.* xxij. 20. PHILIP-
PUS autem, VII diaconorum secundus, abiit in Samariam, & com-
munes mensæ discipulorum disturbatæ sunt: Et haud pauci ex disci-
pulis ab Hierosolymis & ex Judeâ abierunt.

Priori Anno exeunte, & hoc, A. D. 35 vug. 21 TIB. ineunte, perse-
cutio ingravescit; & SAULUS, à synedrio potestate concessâ, supra
modum persequebatur ecclesiam & expugnabat illam, fideles frequenter
per synagogas cædens, sanctorum plurimos vinciens, & in carcerem
trudens, & cum interficerentur, deferens sententiam: Unde se me-
ritò agnoscit tunc fuisse βλάσφημον, & δυνάστην & ὕβριστήν, 1 *Tim.*
j. 13. Cum jam fideles omnes præter apostolos, Hierosolymis reli-
ctis, dispersi essent, & per varias urbes & provincias verbum Dei
prædicassent; SAULUS amplius insaniens in eos persequebatur usque in
exteris civitates, *Act.* xxvj. 11. & adhuc spirans minarum & cædis in
discipulos, à principe sacerdotum petiit epistolas in Damascum ad syna-
gogas, ut si quos invenisset hujus via viros ac mulieres vinctos, perduceret
in *Jerusalem*, *Act.* ix. 1, 2. & habens potestatem allegandi omnes qui in-
vocabant nomen Christi, *Act.* ix. 14.

THE HISTORY

The former year expiring, and this year of our LORD beginning, persecution became heavier; and SAUL, with full power from the sanhedrim, persecuted the church above measure, and almost vanquish'd it, manacling great numbers of the saints, and hurrying them into prisons; so that when they were butcher'd, he treated the executioners with his nods of approbation; from whence he justly

† *Βλάσφημον, καὶ δι-
ώκτην, καὶ
ὕβριστήν.* acknowledg'd he was then a † *blasphemer*, a persecutor, and maliciously imbrued his hands in blood, 1 Tim. j. 13. When all the faithful, besides the apostles, having departed from Jerusalem, were dispers'd, and preach'd the word of GOD through various cities and provinces, SAUL raging more and more against them, pursu'd them through foreign countries, Act. xxvj. 11. and breathing out nothing but curses and slaughter against them, solicited letters from the high priest to the synagogues in Damascus; and if he found either men or women in this way, he would send them bound to Jerusalem, Act. ix. 1, 2. and had full power of committing all who invoc'd the name of CHRIST, Act. ix. 14, &c.

Whoever shall carefully read the following history of SERVETUS, and the concurrent conduct of CALVIN all along, will be tempted to imagine that CALVIN copied after SAUL the persecutor, and not after St. PAUL, the apostle of the benificent JESUS.

(2dly.) I observe, upon HOOKER's kind and just conduct, in giving the history of CALVIN's settlement at Geneva, and the constitution of that church in the 15th page, where you have these words; "The pre-
" sent inhabitants of Geneva, I hope will
" not

“ not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore, is by us
 “ so far forth laid open, as their own learned
 “ guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world ; for out
 “ of their books and writings it is that I
 “ have collected this whole narration”. The author of this treatise can say the same, as to the several parts of it, that it is out of the several books and writings of the authors therein quoted, that he hath collected them.

(3dly.) That tho’ CALVIN caused the Papacy of *Rome* to be banished out of *Geneva*, yet he established a papacy of his own ; that as there was a pope at *Rome*, so he was no other than a pope at *Geneva*, not only by establishing an infallibility in the very constitution of that church, but by his maintaining and carrying on of that constitution, together with his own authority, by persecution and blood, of which the following history of S E R V E T U S will afford sufficient demonstrations, and undeniable proofs.

After the above quotations, I shall give an account made ready to my hands, by the author of the *Memoirs of Literature*, in his III and IV Volumes ; compar’d with the several parts of the history of S E R V E T U S, contain’d in the same author’s *Bibliothèque Angloise* ; which I shall intersperse with other facts relating to our martyr, recorded in other books.

The admirable author of the *Memoirs of Literature*, in his *English Bibliothèque*, in the seventh article of the second *Tome*, the first *Part* ; introduces his history of M I C H A E L

S E R -

* Art. VII. *SERVETUS* in the following manner. * Violencies in the matter of religion, are not less criminal among *Protestants*, than among *Roman catholicks*;

SERVET,

par l'auteur de cette *Bibliothèque Angloise*. Les violences, en matiere de religion, ne sont pas moins criminelles parmi les *Protestans*, que parmi les Catholiques *Romains*, mais on doit dire en faveur des premiers, qu'ils n'ont fait mourir qu'un tres-petit nombre d'heretiques; au lieu que les derniers ont condamné au feu des milliers de martyrs. L'*Angleterre*, le *Palatinat*, la *Suisse* & *Geneve* sont je ne me trompe, les seuls pais *Protestans*, ou l'on ait executé quelques heterodoxes. Les *Provinces unies*, le *Langraviat de Hesse-Cassel*, ou l'on fait aussi profession de la religion reformed, & les pais *Lutheriens*, peuvent se vanter de n'avoir repandu le sang d'aucun heretique, j'ajouté qu'il n'y a aujourd'hui aucun *Protestant* en *Europe*, qui approuve que l'on fasse mourir les heterodoxes; mais on voit encore, a la honte du genre humain, des royaumes Catholiques *Romains*, où l'on brûle les heretiques.

Comme les *PUISSANCES*, qui gouvernent la *Grande Bretagne*, & les *Provinces Unies*, se déclarent hautement pour la tolerance, je ne saurois m'empêcher de faire ici des vœux en leur faveur Dieu veuille repandre sur elles ses benedictions les plus précieuses, & les convaincre de plus en plus que l'humanité est le principal caractère de la religion chrétienne. A cette occasion, j'ajouterai que j'ai lu plus d'une fois, avec un très-grand plaisir, la lettre que les *Estats Generaux* des *Provinces Unies* ont écrite a messieurs de *Berne* touchant la tolerance: Elle mérite d'être gravée en lettres d'or.

Je ne doute pas que l'Histoire de *SERVET*, que je communique au public, ne soit aussi bien reçue dans les pais etrangers qu'elle l'a été en *Angleterre*. Si la religion des *Protestans* dependoit de la doctrine & de la conduire de leurs reformateurs, je n'aurois garde de publier cette piece, quelque curieuse qu'elle puisse être; mais comme cette religion est uniquement fondée sur l'écriture sainte: les defauts d'un reformateur ne sauroient lui nuire en aucune maniere. Le dogme de l'intolerance, qui a regné dans le *XVI* siècle parmi quelques *Protestans* étoit une erreur pernicieuse, qu'ils avoient puissée dans l'église *Romaine*; & je crois pouvoir dire, sans faire tort à cette eglise, qu'elle est, en quelque maniere, responsable de l'execution de *SERVET*. Si les Catholiques *Romains* n'avoient jamais fait mourir personne pour la religion, j'ose assurer que *SERVET* n'auroit pas été condamné à la mort dans une ville *Protestante*. Souvenons-nous que *CALVIN*, & tous les magistrats de *Geneve* l'an 1553. étoient nez, & avoient été élevez, dans le sein de l'église *Romaine*. C'est la meilleure apologie que l'on puisse faire pour eux.

'catholicks; tho' to do justice to the former, we
 'must say, that they have put a very inconfide-
 'rable number of hereticks to death, in compari-
 'son of the many thousands of martyrs, which the
 'latter have condemned to the flames. *England*,
 'the *Palatinate*, *Switzerland*, and *Geneva*, are the
 'only protestant countries; if I am not mistaken,
 'where any hereticks have been executed. The
 'United Provinces, the *Landgraviate* of *Hesse-*
 '*Cassel*, where they have made a true profession
 'of the reformed religion, and † the *Lutheran* † I am
 'countries can glory in their not having shed told, (says
 'the blood of any one heretick; I add, that my au-
 'there is not any one protestant country in *Eur-* thor,) that
 'rope at this time, that approves of putting of the prote-
 'the heterodox to death. Whereas, one may stants of
 'yet see in the *Roman* catholick kingdoms and the con-
 'governments, to the disgrace of human nature, fession of
 'that they go on to burn hereticks. As the *Ausburg*
 'powers who govern *Great-Britain*, and the *Uni-* don't think
 '*ted Provinces* have publicly declared them- themselves re-
 'selves for a toleration; so I cannot forbear ma- proach'd
 'king my earnest wishes in their favour; that to be call'd
 'God would shed upon them his choicest bles- *Lutherans*:
 'sings, and more and more convince them, that If I am
 'humanity is the principal character of the chri- wrong in-
 'stian religion. Upon this occasion, I will add, form'd, I
 'that I have more than once read, with the shall not
 'greatest pleasure, the letter, which the *States* take the
 '*General* of the *United Provinces* wrote to the liberty of
 'magistrates of *Berne*, concerning toleration, using that
 'which deserves to be engraven in letters of gold. term a-
 gain. It
 is to be
 wish'd that
 one could
 call them,
 either Re-
 That one
 form'd and *Calvinists*, or *Roman* catholicks and papists.
 might certainly know how to vary the expression.

'I am well assur'd, that the history of SER-
 'VETUS, which I communicate to the publick,
 E is

'is not like to be so well receiv'd in countries
 'not acquainted with the protestant religion;
 'as it has been in *England*. If the religion of
 'protestants depended on the doctrine and con-
 'duct of their reformers, I should take care how
 'I publish'd that piece, tho' it be never so curi-
 'ous: But as the protestant religion is entirely
 'founded on holy scripture; so the defaults of
 'the reformer ought not to have any ill influ-
 'ence on the reformation. The doctrine of non-
 'toleration, which obtain'd in the 16th century,
 'among some protestants, was that pernicious
 'error which they had imbib'd in the church
 'of *Rome*: And, I believe, I can say, without
 'doing any injury to that church, that she is in
 'a great measure answerable for the execution
 'of *SERVETUS*. If the *Roman* catholicks had
 'never put to death any person for the sake of
 'religion; I dare say that *SERVETUS* had
 'never been condemned to dye in any protestant
 'city. Let us remember, that *CALVIN* and
 'all the magistrates of *Geneva*, in the year
 '1553. were born, and bred up in the bosom of
 'the church of *Rome*: This is the best apology
 'that can be made for 'em.

* Biblio-
 teque,
 Tome se-
 cond, p. 79.
 And Me-
 moirs of
 Literature,
 4th Vol.
 1st Let.

* *MICHAEL SERVETUS* was born in the
 'Year 1509, at *Villanueva* in *Arragon*. His fa-
 'ther, who was a notary, sent him to the
 'university of *Toulouse*, to study the civil law.
 'S *SERVETUS* began to read the bible then,
 'which he had never done before. It does not
 'appear that there were any anti-trinitarians in
 'France, or any where else at that time; and
 'therefore it is not improbable, that he himself
 'broached the new doctrine, for which he was
 'put to death afterwards. Perhaps he applied
 'himself to read the holy scripture, because
 'the

‘the reformation made a great noise in *France* ;
 ‘and being convinc’d by the study of the scri-
 ‘ptures, * that the church wanted to be re-
 ‘formed, ’tis not unlikely that he went so
 ‘far, of his own head, as to fancy that the
 ‘*Trinity* was one of those doctrines that were
 ‘to be rejected. However it be, he grew very
 ‘fond of his opinions; and after he had been
 ‘two or three years at *Toulouse*, he resolved to
 ‘retire into *Germany*, and set up for a reformer.
 ‘He went to *Basil* by way of *Lyons*, and *Geneva* ;
 ‘and having had some conferences at *Basil* with
 ‘*OECOLAMPADIUS*, he set out for *Strasburg*,
 ‘being extremely desirous to discourse with
 ‘*BUCER* and *CAPITO*, two celebrated refor-
 ‘mers of that city. At his departure from *Ba-*
 ‘*sil*, he left a manuscript which he had written
 ‘against the *Trinity*, in the hands of *CONRAD*
 ‘*ROUSS* a bookseller, who sent it afterwards
 ‘to *Haguenau*. *SERVETUS* went thither from
 ‘*Strasburg* to get it printed, in the year 1531.

* Vid.
 Bib. Ang.
 p. 79. Cette
 Lecture le
 convain-
 quit que
 l’Eglise
 avoit be-
 soin d’être
 reformée.

‘† The first book published by *SERVETUS*, † Me-
 ‘is entituled *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem. Per* moirs of
 ‘*MICHAEL SERVETUM, alias REVES*, LITERA-
 ‘*ab Arragonia Hispanum, Anno 1531. i. e. Seven* TURE,
 ‘books concerning the errors about a *Trinity*; VOL. III.
 ‘by *MICHAEL SERVETUS alias REVES*, a page 74.
 ‘*Spaniard* of *Arragon*, in the year 1531. It con-
 ‘sists of 119 leaves in 8vo. The place where it
 ‘was printed, is not mentioned in the title
 ‘page; but I know that it came out at *Hague-*
 ‘*nau* in *Alsco*. *SERVETUS* was not above 21
 ‘years of age when he published that book. He
 ‘undertakes to shew, in the first place, that the
 ‘words *JESUS* and *CHRIST*, and *SON of GOD*,
 ‘denote only a man; and endeavours to prove
 ‘it by several passages of scripture. He explains

* Lib. 7.
fol. 110.
vers.

‘ many other passages agreeably to his system,
 ‘ and answers the objections of the orthodox.
 ‘ This part of his book may easily be under-
 ‘ stood; but when he comes to explain his noti-
 ‘ ons concerning the person of our SAVIOUR,
 ‘ he is hardly intelligible: I shall give but one
 ‘ instance of it. *Erat CHRISTUS* (says he, *)
 ‘ *in mente divina præformatus, erat quidam modus se*
 ‘ *habendi, quem in se ipso DEUS disposuit, ut se ipsum*
 ‘ *nobis patefaceret, scilicet JESU CHRISTI effigiem*
 ‘ *in se ipso describendo*; which I thus translate,
 ‘ (leaving it to the reader to judge, if any judg-
 ‘ ment can be made of it.) CHRIST was præ-
 ‘ form’d in the divine mind; he was a certain
 ‘ mode of being himself there, which mode
 ‘ GOD dispos’d of in himself, that he might
 ‘ make himself known to us; sc. by describing
 ‘ the effigies of JESUS CHRIST in himself.
 ‘ He calls this the face of GOD, and the word
 ‘ that was made flesh. He denied the Trinity,
 ‘ as the modern Unitarians do; but he had a ve-
 ‘ ry different opinion from theirs, concerning
 ‘ JESUS CHRIST, as it appears from this pas-
 ‘ sage. He seemed to value himself upon this
 ‘ pretended discovery, and did very much insist
 ‘ upon it in his last writings. One would think,
 ‘ that a man who rejects the doctrine of the Tri-
 ‘ nity, as being incomprehensible, should not sub-
 ‘ stitute in the room of it a notion so obscure and
 ‘ so unintelligible. He used several expressions
 ‘ in this book, at which the orthodox were very
 ‘ much offended; for he called the three divine
 ‘ persons a mere imagination, a chimæra, meta-
 ‘ physical gods. &c. Many believe that SER-
 ‘ VETUS was burnt for this book; but it is a
 ‘ mistake: He was committed to the flames for
 ‘ another book published in the year 1553, at
 ‘ Vienne in Dauphine. The

' The next year (1532) he put out another
 ' book, printed likewise at *Haguenau*, with this
 ' title ; *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo. De ju-*
 ' *stitia regni CHRISTI capitula quatuor ; per*
 ' *MICHAELM SERVETUM, alias REVES ab*
 ' *Arragonia Hispanum, 1532, i. e. Two books of*
 ' dialogues about the trinity. Four short chap-
 ' ters about the righteousness of the kingdom of
 ' CHEIST ; by MICHAEL SERVETUS, alias
 ' REVES of Arragon, a Spaniard, 1532. It con-
 ' tains only six sheets in 8vo. I have had in my
 ' hands, for some time, two printed copies of
 ' this book, and of the foregoing. SERVETUS
 ' says, in his advertisement to the readers, that
 ' he retracts what he had published against the
 ' common doctrine of the Trinity in his first ;
 ' not because it is false, but because it is imper-
 ' fect, and written, as it were by a child, for
 ' the use of children. He adds, that the con-
 ' fusion, and the unpoliteness of his first work,
 ' must be ascribed to his ignorance, and the
 ' carelessness of the printer : I shall set down
 ' his own words, to give the reader a specimen
 ' of his style. *Quæ nuper contra receptam de Tri-*
 ' *nitatis sententiam in septem libris scripsi, omnia*
 ' *nunc, candide lector, retracto. Non quod falsa sint,*
 ' *sed quia imperfecta, & tanquam a parvulo parvulis*
 ' *scripta. Quod autem ita barbarus, con-*
 ' *fusus, & incorrectus prior liber prodierit, imperi-*
 ' *tia mea & typographi incuriæ ad scribendum est.*
 ' Here follow the titles of the four chapters of
 ' his treatise, *De justitia regni CHRISTI. 1. De*
 ' *justificatione. 2. De regno CHRISTI. 3. Colla-*
 ' *tio legis & evangelii. 4. De charitate. 1. Of justi-*
 ' *fication. 2. Of the kingdom of CHRIST.*
 ' 3. The law and gospel compar'd. 4. Of
 ' charity. That treatise is very inconsiderable.
 ' Thus

‘Thus **SERVETUS** published two books against
 ‘the Trinity in less than two years, without
 ‘scrupling to put his name to them. He was
 ‘very young, extremely zealous for his new
 ‘opinion, and perhaps unacquainted with the
 ‘principles of the reformers. ’Tis likely that
 ‘being lately come from *France* into a protestant
 ‘country, he thought he might write as freely
 ‘against the doctrine of the Trinity, as the re-
 ‘formers did against Transubstantiation, &c.

‘In the year 1553, he put out a third book
 ‘against the Trinity, &c. That book consisting
 ‘of 734 Pages in 8vo. was printed at *Vienne* in
 ‘*Dauphine*, with this pompous title, *Christianis*
 ‘*mi restitutio, h. e. Totius ecclesiæ apostolicæ ad sua*
 ‘*limina vocatio in integrum, restitutâ cognitione*
 ‘*DEI, fidei christianæ, justificationis nostræ, regene-*
 ‘*rationis, baptismi, cænæ DOMINI manducationis.*
 ‘*Restituto denique nobis regno cælesti, Babylonis im-*
 ‘*piæ captivitate solutâ, & antichristo cum suis peni-*
 ‘*tus destruct.* 1553 *. The restitution of chri-
 ‘stianity, *h. e.* a call to the christian world, to
 ‘the primitive principles of the apostolical
 ‘church ; or a treatise wherein the knowledge
 ‘of **GOD**, of the christian faith, of our justi-
 ‘fication, regeneration, baptism, of eating the
 ‘**LORD**’s supper, are perfectly restored ; to the
 ‘deliverance of the heavenly kingdom, from
 ‘the slavery of impious *Babylon*, and the utter
 ‘destruction of antichrist, with his followers.
 ‘**MDLIII.**

* I must observe, that this book is full of invectives against the church of *Rome*, and that **SERVETUS** calls the pope anti-christ, and pretends to prove it by the Apocalypse. I have had a manuscript copy of that book for a long time.

‘**SERVETUS** did not put his name to this
 ‘last book : There is not one printed copy of
 ‘that work that I know of. To satisfy the cu-
 ‘riosity

'riosity of my readers, I shall observe, that it
 'contained the following pieces. 1. *De Trini-*
 'tate divina, quod in ea non sit invisibilium trium
 'rerum illusio, sed vera substantiæ Dei manifestatio,
 '& communicatio spiritus. lib. 7. 1. Of the di-
 'vine Trinity, that there is not an illusion of three
 'invisible beings in it; but the real manifestati-
 'on of the substance of GOD, and communica-
 'tion of his spirit. lib. 7. The two last books
 'are written by way of dialogue. 2. *De fide &*
 '*justitia regni CHRISTI legis justitiam superantis,*
 '& *de charitate. lib. 3. 2. Of the faith of*
 'CHRIST, and the righteousness of his king-
 'dom, excelling that of the law; and of chari-
 'ty. lib. 3. 3. *De regeneratione superna, & regno anti-*
 '*christi. lib. 4. 3. Of regeneration from above,*
 'and the reign of antichrist. lib. 4. 4. *Epistolæ*
 '30. *ad JOAN. CALVINUM Gebennensium concio-*
 '*natores. 4. Thirty epistles to JOHN CAL-*
 'VIN preacher at Geneva. 5. *Signa 60 regni an-*
 '*tichristi, & revelatio ejus, jam nunc præsens.*
 '5. Sixty signs of the reign of antichrist, and his
 'discovery just now at hand. 6. *De mysterio Tri-*
 '*nitatis & veterum disciplina ad PHILIP ME-*
 '*LANCTHON. Et ejus collegas apologia. 6. Of the*
 'mystery of the Trinity, and discipline of the an-
 'cients, being an apology to PHILIP ME-
 'LANCTHON, and his colleagues. In the
 'first book *de Trinitate Divina*, SERVETUS lays
 'down three axioms concerning the person of
 'JESUS CHRIST; and answers three arguments
 'of the pharisees, and as many of the orthodox,
 'whom he calls all along sophisters. In the 2d,
 'he explains twenty passages of the scripture.
 'In the 3d he treats *de persona CHRISTI in*
 '*verbo præfiguratione, de visione DEI, & verbi*
 '*hypostasi. Of the prefiguration of the person*
 'of

' of CHRIST in the word, of the vision of GOD;
 ' and of the hypostasis, or subsistence, of the
 ' word. In the 4th, *de nominibus DEI, ejusque*
 ' *essentia omniformi, & rerum omnium principiis.*
 ' Of the names of GOD, and of his essence,
 ' having all forms in it; and of the principles of
 ' all beings. The 5th book concerns the holy
 ' ghost. The 1st dialogue is entitled, *De legis*
 ' *umbris, & CHRISTI complemento, angelorum,*
 ' *animarum, & inferni substantia.* Of the sha-
 ' dows of the law, of the fulness of CHRIST,
 ' of the substance of angels, of the souls of
 ' men, and of the state of the dead. In the
 ' 2d, the author pretends to explain the manner
 ' of CHRIST's generation, *modum generationis*
 ' CHRISTI, and shews that he is not a crea-
 ' ture, and has not a finite power; and that he
 ' ought to be worshiped, and is true GOD;
 ' *Quod ipse non sit creatura, nec finitæ potentia, sed*
 ' *vere adorandus, verusque DEUS.*

' CALVIN informed the Roman catholicks in
 ' France, that SERVETUS was the author of that
 ' book. It plainly appears, that SERVETUS and
 ' CALVIN had for some time familiarly con-
 ' vers'd by letters, (30 of SERVETUS's letters to
 ' CALVIN having been printed among his other
 ' works, as above) and that they had treated
 ' one another with that confidence in the episto-
 ' lary way, usual amongst learned men; and that
 ' SERVETUS took a freedom with CALVIN,
 ' which he expected would never have been made
 ' use of to betray him into the hands of the pro-
 ' fess'd enemies to both: Let the reader then
 ' judge, whether this treatment is not so far a-
 ' gainst the rules of friendship, that it is destru-
 ' ctive of common humanity: and let a father in-
 ' quisitor at Lisbon, give a more cruel informa-
 ' tion

tion to a father at *Leghorne*; of a third person that was once his friend, but since altered in his sentiments as to popery if he can.

ERASMUS, (19th book of his epistles, p. 738) in the beginning of his epistle to CONRADUS PELICANUS, says; * The * Evangelii vigor non abolet morales virtutes sed perfitcit; nec ignoras quantum abhorreat, non dicam, a virtute sed prorsus ab omni humanitate, prodere amicitiae arcanum; quandoquidem execramur etiam illos, qui post di-remptam amicitiam, effe-runt quod amicis creditum erat; & qui generosioris ingenii

* power of the gospel is so far from destroying, that it perfects moral virtues; nor are you ignorant how abhorrent, I don't say from virtue, but entirely from all humanity, it is to betray the secrets of friendship; forasmuch as we detest even those, who after a breach of friendship, shall divulge what was said in confidence before; nor can men of generous minds suffer themselves to discover what they knew from the confidence of antient friendship, that shall expose one to the resentment of his greatest enemies. Upon this information above, SERVETUS was imprisoned at *Vienne*, and would have been burnt alive in that city, had he not made his escape. He was burnt in effigie, with five bales of his books. That unhappy physician, having resolved to retire to *Naples*, where he hoped to practise physick among his countrymen, was so imprudent as to take his way through *Geneva*, tho' he knew that CALVIN was his mortal enemy. CALVIN being informed of his arrival, acquainted the magistrates with it. SERVETUS

F

* was

sunt, nec illis quos maxime invisos habent, sustinent objicere, quod ex amicitiae pristinae fiducia cognoverunt.

† He was ‘ was † arrested, tried, and burnt alive on
 apprehended the ‘ the 27th of *October* 1553, for the heresies,
 very same ‘ contained in the book printed at *Vienne*.
 day that ‘ Thus the unfortunate *SERVETUS* fell a sa-
 he came ‘ crifice to the resentment of that illustrious
 to *Geneva*. ‘ reformer.
 He de-
 signed to set out the next day for *Lausanne*, by water, in his way to
Italy.

* Perhaps — *Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ !* * i. e. Can
 the late *such terrible wrath reside in heavenly minds !* —
 M. DE-
*SPREAU*X had those words in view, when he said, *Tant de fiel en-
 tre-t-il dans l'ame des devots !*

‘ The following passage will doubtless be
 ‘ approved by all good and wise men ; and
 ‘ in general, by all those who have a sense of
 ‘ humanity. *SERVETUS*, if I well remember
 ‘ his opinion, was a man yet much more extrava-
 ‘ gant than *ARIUS* ; for he conceived *CHRIST*
 ‘ to be a divine light, which *GOD* used as his in-
 ‘ strument, in making the world, and his flesh to
 ‘ be made out of the very substance of *GOD*.
 ‘ And by that which I have seen of his, I judge
 ‘ him fitter to have been chained up as a mad man,
 ‘ than burnt as an heretick. They are the words
 ‘ of his grace the lord archbishop of *Canter-
 bury*, in his learned discourse of idolatry,
 ‘ *Chap. IX. p. 158.*

“ *SERVETUS*’s book about the errors concern-
 “ ing the *Trinity*, was published at *Strasburg* and
 “ *Francfort* before the month of *August*. When
 “ it was brought into *Switzerland*, several
 “ protestant divines were very much dis-
 “ pleased with it, as it appears from a letter
 “ of

" of OECOLAMPADIUS to BUCER; I * * Invisi
 " saw this week, says he, our friends of Berne, hâc heb-
 " who make their compliments to you and to C A-domedâ
 " PITO. They are very much offended with the Bernates,
 " book entitled, De Trinitatis Erroribus, which qui te, &
 " some of them have seen. I desire you would ac-CAPITO-
 " quaint LUTHER, that this book was printed NEM sa-
 " out of this country, † and without our knowledge. lurant plu-
 " For (to mention but one article) it is an impu-rimùm.
 " dent thing to affirm, as the author does, that the Libellus
 " Lutherans do not understand the doctrine of De Trini-
 " justification. But that man, whether he be tatis Erro-
 " Photinian, or of any other sect, thinks he knows ribus à qui-
 " more than every body else. Our church will be busdam ex
 " very ill spoken of, unless our divines make it illis visus
 " their business to cry him down. I beseech you in duntaxat,
 " particular, to keep a watchful eye over it, and supramo-
 " to make an apology for our church, at least in dum of-
 " your confutation inscribed to the emperor. We fendit.
 " know not how that beast came to creep in among Vellem te
 " us. He wrests all the passages of the scripture scribere
 " to prove that the son is not co-eternal and consub- LUTHERO,
 " stantial with the FATHER, and that the man quod no-
 " CHRIST is the son of GOD. This letter is bis insciis
 " dated August 5. 1531. liber alibi
 " excusus sit.
 " Impuden-
 " tia enim
 " erat ad-
 " scribere
 " Luthera-
 " nis, justifi-

cationis rationem eos ignorare, ut de reliquis taceam. Sed PHOTINI-
 ANUS ille, vel nescio cujus sectæ Homo, solus sapere sibi videtur nisi
 ab ecclesiæ nostræ doctoribus explodetur, pessimè auditura est. Tu,
 præ aliis, oro, vigiles, ut si non alibi, certè in confutatione tuâ ad
 imperatorem ecclesias nostras excusa; utcumque hæc bestia irrepserit.
 Abutitur omnibus in suum sensum, tantum ne confiteatur filium
 coæterum PATRI, & consubstantialem. Atque hic est, qui susci-
 pit probandum hominem CHRISTUM esse filium DEI. OECOL-
 AMPADII & ZUINGLIJ Epistola. lib. 4. p. 801. Basil 1592, in
 4°.

† This is a proof that that *De Trinitatis Erroribus* was not printed
 at Basil.

† I very
much e-
steem, says
the author
of Biblio-
teque An-
gloise,
these two
reformers,
because they were men of moderation.

“ The Magistrates of *Basil* desiring to
“ know *OECOLAMPADIUS*’s opinion con-
“ cerning the book of *SERVETUS*; that re-
“ former made a short discourse in their pre-
“ sence; wherein he shewed that it was a per-
“ nicious book; but he express’d himself with
“ great moderation. That discourse, tran-
“ slated into *Latin*, may be seen in the first and
“ second chap. of the first book of *OECOLAM-
“ PADIUS*’s and *ZUINGLIUS*’s epistles, p. 83.
“ *OECOLAMPADIUS* writ also two † letters
“ to *SERVETUS* about his book, wherein
“ he confuted him in a very civil manner,
“ and intreated him him to renounce his
“ errors. He blames *SERVETUS* for expres-
“ sing a greater esteem for *TERTULLIAN*,
“ than for all the other fathers of the church.

“ The next Year (1532) *SERVETUS* pub-
“ lished another book against the Trinity at
“ *Haguenau*, according to the former account.
“ *SERVETUS* having published those two
“ books, resolved to return into *France*, be-
“ cause he was poor, and did not understand
“ the *German* language. He himself alledged
“ those two reasons for it at his tryal, when
“ the judges ask’d him, why he left *Germany*?
“ He returned to *Basil*, and from thence went
“ to *Lyons*, where he lived about two or three
“ years. Whilst he was there, *MELAN-
“ CTHON* writ a letter to *JOACHIM CA-
“ MERARIUS*, wherein he told him what he
“ thought of *SERVETUS*, and his books.
“ He says, that *SERVETUS* appears to him
“ a subtile and cunning man, but that he
“ wants gravity, and his thoughts are con-
“ fused;

“ fused; that he has not sufficiently meditated
 “ upon the things he treats of, and that his
 “ notion of justification is very extravagant.
 “ MELANCTHON adds, that he has been
 “ always afraid, that disputes about the Tri-
 “ nity would break out some time or other.
 “ The passage is very curious, and therefore I
 “ shall set down MELANCTHON’S own words.

“ *De SERVETO rogas quid sentiam, (says*
 “ *that excellent man). Ego vero video satis*
 “ *acutum ac vafrum esse in disputando, sed planè*
 “ *gravitatem ei non tribuo. Et habet, ut mihi*
 “ *videtur, confusas imaginationes, nec satis expli-*
 “ *catas earum rerum, quas agit, cogitationes.*
 “ *De justificatione manifeste delirat.* The follow-
 “ ing words are very remarkable: *Περὶ τῆς τε-*
 “ *αὐτοῦ* scis. *me semper veritum esse, fore ut hæc ali-*
 “ *quando erumperent.* [Good GOD! what trage-
 “ dies will this question, whether the Logos or Word
 “ be an hypostasis or subsistence, or person; whether
 “ the Spirit be so likewise? raise amongst posterity.
 “ For my part, I have recourse solely to those words
 “ of scripture, which command us to invoke
 “ CHRIST, which is to be done by ascribing the
 “ honour of divinity to him, which carries along
 “ with it a deal of consolation to us; but critically
 “ to examine the real or proper distinctions of the
 “ hypostases or person, is no manner of advantage.]
 “ Bone DEUS! quales tragoedias excitabit hæc
 “ quæstio ad posteros, *εἰ ἔστιν ὑποστασις ὁ λόγος, εἰ*
 “ *ἔστιν ὑποστασις τὸ πνεῦμα.* Egome referro ad illas
 “ scripturæ voces quæ jubent invocare CHRISTUM,
 “ quod est ei honorem divinitatis tribuere, & ple-
 “ num consolationis est. *Τὰς δὲ ἰδέας τῶν ὑποστάσεων*
 “ *καὶ διαφορὰς ἀκεκῶς ζυγεῖν ἔπαινον οὐκ ἔχει.* ME-
 “ LANCTHON epist. lib. 4. ep. 140. edit.
 “ Lond. That letter is dated in the year 1533.

You

“ You see, Sir, that MELANCTHON
 “ proved a true prophet. How many disputes
 “ about the Trinity has the world seen since
 “ the year 1533, in which this letter was
 “ written! That great divine foresaw, that
 “ several people not contented with LUTHER
 “ and CALVIN’s reformation, would boldly
 “ attack the doctrine of the Trinity. The
 “ thing happen’d, as he foretold it. Some
 “ are of opinion, that the reformation would
 “ have made a further progress, had it not
 “ been for the Anti-trinitarians.

“ In the next letter to CAMERARIUS,
 “ MELANCTHON says, SERVETUM *mul-*
 “ *tum lego*; i. e. *I read SERVETUS very much*;
 “ and adds, that SERVETUS did TERTUL-
 “ LIAN a great deal of wrong, in maintain-
 “ ing that this father did not believe the *Logos*
 “ to be an *hypostasis*. This second letter is
 “ dated in the same year as the first.

“ SERVETUS having been two or three
 “ years at *Lyons*, as I have already said, went
 “ to *Paris*, where he studied physick under
 “ SYLVIVS, FERNEL and some other
 “ professors. He took his degree of master of
 “ arts, and was admitted doctor of physick
 “ in that university, and practised the same
 “ afterwards. He was, for some time, cor-
 “ rector of the press at *Lyons*.

* History
 of the re-
 formed
 churches
 of France,
 vol. I. p. 14.
Antwerp
 1580.

† Printed
 in Holland
 in 1684,
 p. 13.

“ BEZA * informs us, that CALVIN knew
 “ SERVETUS at *Paris*, and opposed his do-
 “ ctrine. The same author adds, that SER-
 “ VETUS having agreed to engage in a dis-
 “ pute with CALVIN, upon a certain day,
 “ and a certain hour, durst not appear at that
 “ conference. I find in the *Bibliotheca* † *Anti-*
 “ *trinitariorum*, that he published at *Paris* in
 “ the

“ the year 1537, a book entitled, *Ratio Sympo-*
 “ *rum*.

“ Whilst SERVETUS was at *Paris*, his
 “ book *De Trinitatis Erroribus* was dispersed in
 “ † *Italy*, and very much approved of by many † See *Box-*
 “ *Italians*, who design’d to forsake the church *hornii Hist.*
 “ of *Rome*. MELANCTHON being informed *Universa.*
 “ of it, writ a letter * to the senate of *p. 70, ad*
 “ *Venice*, in the year 1539, importing, that *an. 1552.*
 “ a book of SERVETUS, who had revived *Lugd. Ba-*
 “ the error of PAULUS SAMOSATENUS, *tav. 1652.*
 “ was handed about in their country. He *MELANC-*
 “ beseeches them to use their utmost endea- *THON. Ep.*
 “ vours, that the impious error of that man *lib. 1. Ep.*
 “ may be avoided, rejected, and abhorred. *III.*
 “ It is not improbable, that LÆLIUS SOCI-
 “ NUS, FAUSTUS’s uncle, and several other
 “ *Italians*, took their anti-trinitarian notions
 “ from SERVETUS’s book.

“ That physician having finished his studies
 “ at *Paris*, left that city to go and practise
 “ physick in some other place; which he did
 “ two or three years in a town about twelve
 “ leagues distant from *Lyons*, and then in *Vi-*
 “ *enne* in *Dauphine*, for the space of ten or
 “ twelve years I find very few particulars
 “ relating to him during that time. † PATIN † Patini-
 “ says, that Dr. DELAVAU, a physician of *ana. p. 74,*
 “ *Poitiers*, had by him fifty letters written to *75. Amst.*
 “ his father, by SERVETUS from *Dauphine.* *1703.*
 “ He adds, that SCALIGER says he had seen
 “ them.

“ SERVETUS was at *Lyons* in the year
 “ 1542, before he settled at *Vienne*. He cor-
 “ rected in that city (*Lyons*) the proofs of a
 “ *Latin bible*, and added a preface to it under
 “ the name of *Villanovanus*. That bible is
 “ very

“ very scarce. I must observe, that he went
 “ in *France* by the Name *Villeneuve* from
 “ *Villanueva*, the town where he was born.
 ‡ Critical “ That bible ‡ was printed by HUGH de la
 History of “ PORTE, with this title, *Biblia Sacra ex*
 the Old “ *Sanctis Pagnini Translatione, sed & ad He-*
 Testam. “ *braicæ linguæ amussim ita recognita & Scholiis*
 p. 530. “ *illustrata, ut planè nova editio videri possit.*
 Rotterdam, “ SERVETUS added to it some marginal notes.
 1685. “ CALVIN calls them impertinent and impi-
 “ ous notes ; and says, that SERVETUS
 “ fraudulently got five hundred livres from the
 “ bookseller for his pains.” And here that the
 reader may have as full a view of SERVE-
 TUS’s works, as at present can be given
 him, I shall insert that piece, which the
 author of the memoirs calls an excellent sup-
 plement to his account of SERVETUS’s life.
 This he calls a curious account of that bible,
 for which he was very much indebted to the learn-
 ed person, who had been pleased to communicate
 it to him from Paris ; 4 vol. p. 329. 2d edit.
 “ The title of this bible, as above, is, The
 “ sacred bible, translated by PAGNINUS
 “ from the holy scriptures, and so exactly cor-
 “ rected, according to the *Hebrew* tongue, and
 “ so well illustrated with *scholia*, that it may
 “ well pass for a new edition.

* MICH. * MICHAEL VILLANOVANUS to the Reader.
 VILLA-
 NOVANUS. WE are taught by that wise man, JESUS,
 Lectori. the son of SIRACH, in the beginning of his
 Docuit nos the son of SIRACH, in the beginning of his
 sapiens ille apocryphal book, call’d Ecclesiasticus : That
 JESUS fi- the
 lius SIRAC

in proæmio libri quem ecclesiasticum vocant, Hebraica verba defi-
 cere, sive obtorpescere, cum in aliam linguam fuerint translata pro-
 be

be dijudicans vivam illam spiritus energiam, dictionum emphases, concursus, antitheses, allusiones & reliqua ejusmodi, non posse in versionibus nostris ad unguem servari. Unde merito, & olim, & nunc bibliorum interpretationi pleriq; desudantes, rem integram nunquam sunt assecuti. Quum præsertim. Historicum & literalem sensum qui certum est futuræ rei monumentum, ii qui Hæbræorum res gestas ignorant, facile contemnant, unde & mysticos sensus frustra illi, & ridiculè passim venantur. Quamobrem te semel & iterum velim rogatum, Christiane lector ut primum Hebraica discas, deinde historiæ diligenter incumbas, antequam prophetarum lectionem aggrediaris. Singuli enim prophetæ suam juxta literam sequebantur historiam, quæ & futura præfigurabas & in qua CHRISTI mysteria secundum spiritum concludebantur, nam omnia in figura contingebant illis, ut ait PAULUS, & testimonium JESU CHRISTI, ut ait JOHANNES est spiritus prophetiæ, quamquam alius juxta literam fuerit tunc prophetarum sensus, ut rei gestæ terebat historia. Quod si sensum illum esse verè literalem quis neget, eo quod vis literæ non semper verè congruat, id ego dicenti lubens concedam. Illud tamen perpendendum Hebraicam linguam esse totam hyperbolis plenam, & majora alia ibi contineri mysteria. Perpendendum item quod si literalis ille sensus non dicatur, aliqualis tamen erat futuræ veritatis obumbratio ut in umbra DAVIDIS relucet veritas soli CHRISTO conveniens, ab ejus enim historiis desumptæ in psalmis sunt prædicendi de CHRISTO occasiones imo hac ratione dicitur fuisse CHRISTI typus. De SALOMONE etiam in umbra dictum est; ero illi in patrem, & de Israelitico populo dictum est; Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum; cum tamen soli CHRISTO id verè conveniat ut & literalem propheticum sensum esse de CHRISTO dicamus. Adde quod liber hic dicitur scriptus intus & extra, & duplicem esse constat scripturæ faciem, instar gladii utrinq; scindentis. Fœcunda est scripturæ vis, & sub vetustate occidentis literæ novitatem ita continet vivificantis spiritus, ut collecto inde uno sensu alium sit nefas omittere; eò magis; quia historicus ille alium ultrò patefacit. Unde & nos literalem illum veterem seu, historicum passim neglectum sensum conati semper sumus scholiis eruere, ut ejus typo mysticus, imò verus innotesceret, utq; illum qui scopus est omnium, JESUM CHRISTUM sub illis umbris, & figuris obvelatum, quem ob id non vident cæci Judæi, nos omnes revelatâ facie deum nostrum clare videamus. In qua re sicut & in Pagnini nostri versione non parum est nobis post omnia ejus annotamenta, desudatum. Annotamenta inquam, quæ ille nobis quamplurimâ reliquit, nec solum annotamenta, sed & exemplar ipsum locis innumeris propria manu castigatum ex quibus omnibus affirmare ausim & integras magis nunc esse Sententias, & Hebraicæ veritati propinquiores, ecclesiæ tamen & Hebraicæ linguæ peritorum sit de hac re judicium; alii enim judicare id nequeunt. Quidquid verò commodi

hinc.

hinc. Lector, retuleris primum Deo optimo maximo deinde HUGONI
à PORTA Lugdunensi civi gratias agito, cujus opera & impensis
hæc in lucem prodeunt. Vale.

the Hebrew tongue, when translated into any other language, is defective, and the spirit of it is almost lost; well observing, that the lively energy of spirit, emphasis of expression, harmony, antitheses, allusions, and the like, cannot be exactly kept up in our translations; from whence, for good reason, most both antients and moderns, who have, with the greatest care, interpreted the scriptures, have never come up to the whole sense; especially since they who are ignorant of the affairs and customs of the Hebrews, give very easily into the contempt of the historical and literal sense, which is the only certain sign of any thing future; from whence it comes to pass, that they ridiculously, and to no manner of purpose, pursue the mystical sense every where. Wherefore I would desire you again and again, christian reader, to get the knowledge of the Hebrew, in the first place, and after that, diligently to apply your self to the study of the Jewish history, before you enter upon the reading of the prophets; for each of the prophets pursued, according to the letter, their history, both as to that part which points out things to come, and as that, in which the mysteries of CHRIST, according to the spirit, are hid; for all things turn'd up to them in types, as St. PAUL says, and the testimony of JESUS CHRIST, as saith St. JOHN, is a spirit of prophecy; altho' there was another sense of the prophets then, according to the letter, as the course of their history led them. But if any one denies that sense to be truly literal, because the force of the expression does not always serve to the purpose, I will readily allow it him. This, however, ought to be considered, that the Hebrew language is very full of hyperboles,

boles, and other very great mysteries are contain'd therein. It must be consider'd too, that if the literal sense is not mention'd, yet there is some shadow of future verity, as under the shade of DAVID, some truth belonging to CHRIST alone, darts forth with a shining lustre; for from his histories in the Psalms, there are several occasions taken of predicting many passages concerning CHRIST. It is indeed upon this account, that he is said to be a type of CHRIST. After the same manner of paint, it is said of SOLOMON, I will be to him a father; and of the Israelitic people, it is said, out of Egypt have I called my son, when that, in truth, agreed to CHRIST alone; so that we may say, that the literal prophetic sense refers to CHRIST; to which we may add, that this book is said to be written within and without; and that there is a two-fold face in the scripture, in like manner as one sword has two edges. The force of scripture is very genial, and under the antiquity of the declining letter, it contains so much fresh vigour of the enlivening spirit, that when one sense is collected from it, it would be monstrous to neglect the other: more especially, since that historical sense discloses the mystical of its own accord; from whence it is, that we always endeavour to search out, tho' it costs never so much pains, that old literal or historical sense (so generally neglected) by having recourse to the scholia; so that the mystical sense might become known to be the true sense, the rather by its type; for the mystical sense is the scope of all, viz. JESUS CHRIST shaded under such types and figures, whom the blind Jews, for that reason, do not see; which shade or veil being taken away, we all, with open face, clearly see our GOD. In which very thing, as also in the version of our PAGNINUS, we have exerted our selves, after all his annotations,

THE HISTORY

to the last degree. Annotations, I say, of which he hath left us a vast number ; nor are they only annotations, but the exemplar it self, corrected in innumerable places, by his own hand : From all which, I dare affirm, that the sentences are now become much more entire and perfect, and nearer, by far, to the verity of the Hebrew tongue. However, this is submitted to the judgement of those, and of those only (for no others can be judges) who are well vers'd in the Hebrew tongue, and the Jewish Ecclesiastical history. Whatever advantage therefore you get, reader, from this edition, pay your grateful acknowledgements for it ; first to the great GOD, and then to HUGH de la PORTE, a citizen of Lyons, by whose expence and labours the contents are made publick. Vale.

“ Next to this preface of SERVETUS,
 “ there are two others ; the first by JOHAN-
 “ NES NICOLAUS VICTORIUS ; and the
 “ second by PAGNINUS. This last, which
 “ contains seven pages in folio, is to be found
 “ in the other editions of that translation ;
 “ but the preface of VICTORIUS appears
 “ only in this edition : we learn from it, that
 “ PAGNINUS made several notes upon the
 “ whole bible, which have not been printed.
 “ Atque utinam nostri hodie bibliopolæ ita erga
 “ sanctissima hæc studia sint affecti, ut doctissi-
 “ mas tanti viri (SANCTIS PAGNINI) anno-
 “ tationes quæ etiam nunc apud hæredem asser-
 “ vantur, in publicam omnium utilitatem velint
 “ excudere,” i. e. *’Twere to be wish’d, that our
 present booksellers were so well effected towards
 studies of this kind, that they would, for the com-
 mon good of the publick, print the very learned
 annotations of so great a man as PAGNINUS,*
 which

which are now in the possession of his heir. “ It appears also, by the same preface, that this edition of 1542, was made from an edition of Cologne, which PAGNINUS himself revised, and upon which he added other notes: For he says, *Interim hanc biblicorum interpretationem, christiane lector, ipsius auspiciis prodeuntem obviis ulnis amplectere, non ita pridem, fateor, Coloniae excusam, sed postliminio ab ipso authore, nescio, quid jam imminente fato suavius modulante, ita recognitam, ita annotationibus locupletatam, ut nunc non tam restituta, quam primum edita videri possit*”. *I make it my request, to the christian reader, that he would, with all imaginable readiness, take this comment upon the bible into his hands; not indeed as some time ago printed at Cologne, but as it has been since revised by the author himself; which is now so plentifully enrich’d by his own annotations, that it may well pass for the first and most perfect edition.*

“ ’Tis true, there are some differences between that edition of PAGNINUS’s version, and the other editions of that translation; but they are neither very numerous, nor very material.

“ As for the notes, there are but few; and they would hardly have been minded, had not CALVIN taken notice of them. What is most considerable in those notes, concerneth JESUS CHRIST, figuratively represented in the scripture. SERVETUS had already intimated in his preface, that prophecies have a proper and natural sense in the history of the antient Israelites, and that CHRIST is no further concerned in them, than as his actions were figuratively represented by his
“ *historical*

“ historical facts ; or even that those prophecies
 “ could not be applied to CHRIST, but in a
 “ sublime and exalted sense.

“ There are few notes on the historical
 “ books ; sometimes one may find many pages
 “ without any notes ; and those that are in-
 “ terspersed here and there, are in a very
 “ small number : they contain most times a
 “ clearer explication of the *Hebrew* words ;
 “ and sometimes, but very seldom, historical
 “ remarks. SERVETUS having shewed, in
 “ his preface, what he thinks concerning the ap-
 “ plications of prophecies to JESUS CHRIST,
 “ begins to unfold his opinion in his notes
 “ upon the *Psalms*.

“ Upon *Psalms* I. he says, Impium Achito-
 “ pelis consilium hujus Psalmi fuit occasio,
 “ sicut quinq; sequentium. *The impious counsel*
 “ of Achitophel was the occasion of this Psalm, and
 “ likewise of the five following.

“ The consequence of this note is plainly
 “ expressed upon *Psalms* II. where SERVETUS
 “ says, upon this verse, DOMINUS dixit ad
 “ me FILIUS meus es tu, ego hodie genui te.
 “ The LORD said unto me, thou art my SON, this
 “ day have I begotten thee.

“ Ad diem resurrectionis CHRISTI vocem
 “ hodie refert PAULUS, sicut in die qua evasit
 “ ab hoste, dicitur DAVID hodie natus, &
 “ hodie denuò factus rex. *The apostle PAUL*
 “ refers the expression this day, to the day of
 “ CHRIST's resurrection, in like manner as DA-
 “ VID, when he escaped from his enemies, is said to
 “ be born this day, and at length to be made a king this
 “ day.

“ It appears from thence that SERVETUS
 “ pretends still, against the very explication of
 “ the scriptures, that CHRIST was repre-
 “ sented by the actions of kings and pro-
 “ phets, and not by the very word of the
 “ prophecies.

“ Upon the VIIIth *Psalms*. Et deficere fe-
 “ cisti eum Paululum ab angelis, gloria, &
 “ decore coronaturus eum: *Thou hast made him*
a little lower than the angels indeed, being about to
crown him with honour and glory. He says, “ Ab
 “ angelis, id est, a diis, illustribus viris quibus
 “ in persecutionibus factus est inferiori DA-
 “ VID, CHRISTI typus postea scilicet coro-
 “ nandus: *Than angels, viz. than the gods, or*
illustrious men, to whom DAVID, by his perse-
cutions, was become inferior; DAVID a type
of CHRIST in this, that he might afterwards be
crown'd.

“ Upon these words of *Psalms* XXII. Fode-
 “ runt manus meas & pedes meas: *They have*
pierced my hands and my feet. He says, “ Fu-
 “ giente DAVIDE per abrupta instar quadru-
 “ pedis. Manus ejus & pedes perforabantur;
 “ Unde & Hebræi legunt, quasi leonis manus
 “ meæ & pedes mei at LXX. pro Chaari lege-
 “ runt Charu in eandem sententiam, & verum
 “ CHRISTI mysterium; i. e. DAVID, in
 making his escape from his enemies, with like diffi-
 culty that a wild-beast does get thro' thorny brakes,
 had his hands and his feet pierced through. From
 the Hebrews we read it, my hands and my feet are
 torn like the paws of a lyon: but the septuagint for
 Ca-ari, render it Ca-arû in the same sentence,
 are pierced or torn like a lyon's, and is a true mystery
 referring to CHRIST.

“ Upon

THE HISTORY

“ Upon the words of the XLVth *Pfalm*,
 “ *Sedes tua, DEUS in seculum, Thy throne,*
O GOD, is for ever, he makes this observa-
 tion, “ *Solium SALOMONIS dicitur æter-*
 “ *num in umbra CHRISTI & dicitur ipse*
 “ *DEUS sicut CYRUS & MOSES; Esai. xlv.*
 “ *& Exod. vij. veritas tamen est in solo*
 “ *CHRISTO; i. e. The throne of SOLOMON*
is said to be everlasting, to prefigure the throne of
CHRIST; and SOLOMON is called GOD, as
CYRUS and MOSES were; but the reality is in
CHRIST alone.

“ Upon these words of the LXIXth *Pfalm*.
 “ *Dederunt in escam meam fel, & in siti meâ*
 “ *propinaverunt mihi acetum; i. e. They gave*
me gall for meat, and vinegar for drink. He says,
 “ *Hæc ad literam fecit NABAL, i Sam. xxv.*
 “ *cum petenti cibum & potum amaritudinem &*
 “ *convitia rependit. Testimonium enim JESU*
 “ *CHRISTI est spiritus prophetiæ; i. e. This*
NABAL did literally, i Sam. xxv. when he gave to
DAVID's messengers sneers and curses instead of pro-
per refreshment, in return for all his favours to him.
For the testimony of JESUS CHRIST is the
spirit of prophecy.

“ Upon these words of the LXXII. *Pfalm*.
 “ *Timebunt te cum sole, & dum fuerit luna*
 “ *in generatione generationum; i. e. They shall*
fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, through-
out all generations. He makes the following re-
 mark. “ *Hyperbole de SALOMONE, veri-*
 “ *tas de CHRISTO, multa de eis olim subli-*
 “ *mius dicebantur; quam ut eis posset veritas*
 “ *convenire: ut inde constet spiritum prophe-*
 “ *tiæ aliò tendere, Apoc. xix. The hyperbole*
belongs to SOLOMON, the truth to CHRIST:
many things were spoken of great men in antiquity,
 in

in a manner too sublime to be true of them, from whence it appears, that the spirit of prophecy pointed somewhere else.

“ *Psalms LXXXII.* Surge, DEUS, judica terram; *Arise, O GOD, judge the earth.* He says, “ O tu CHRISTE! DEUS, nostris his diis longe præstantior, surge veni: O CHRIST! who art GOD, far more excellent than the gods amongst men; arise, come.

“ *Psalms LXXXIII.* DEUS ne taceas tibi: *Keep not thou silent, O GOD.* Here follows his note. “ O tu CHRISTE DEUS, ne contineas te. O CHRIST! who art GOD, hold not thy peace.

“ *Psalms CX.* Dixit DOMINUS DOMINO meo; i. e. *The LORD said unto my LORD.*

“ Scilicet SALOMONI quem, ut CHRISTI typum DOMINUM vocat DAVID, translato in eum tanto regno. *I Paral. xxix.* Sciebat DAVID, ex se oriturum DEI filium Dominatorem orbis; ideo sub dilecti filii typo eum Dominum vocat; citato etiam loco dicitur SALOMON sedisse super solium DEI secundum fortitudinem a dextris DEI in umbra scilicet; i. e. *To SOLOMON, whom DAVID calls LORD, as a type of CHRIST, so great a kingdom being to be transferred to him; for DAVID knew that from him should descend the SON of GOD, that should be the Lord of the world; therefore under the type of his beloved Son, he calls him Lord; and in the place afore quoted, SOLOMON is said to sit upon the throne of GOD, in his strength, at the right hand of GOD, viz. in a shadow.*

“ Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedibus tuis; *Until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool.*

H

“ Repetit

THE HISTORY

“ Repetit ad literam hæc verba SALOMON, 2 Reg. 5. SOLOMON repeats the words literally.

“ Tu es sacerdos in seculum secundum morem MELCHISEDEC, qui scilicet rex simul fuit & sacerdos; unde & SALOMON sacerdotem aliquando egit: *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of MELCHISEDEC, who was king and priest at once. From whence SOLOMON also sometimes officiated as a priest.*

“ Isaia, cap. VII. Ecce virgo prægnans & pariens filium, &c. *Behold a virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son, &c.*

“ Ostendit ad literam ipsam ABIAM præsentem & parituram EZECHIAM, qui & fortitudo DEI & IMMANUEL, & ante cujus regnum perditum sunt duo illi reges hostes Judæa ut, 4 Reg. 16. & 18. *This was true according to the letter of ABIA then with child, and about to bring forth EZECHIAS, who was called the strength of GOD and IMMANUEL; and before whose reign the two kings, who were in hostility with Judæa, were both destroyed.*

“ Isaia, cap. VIII. Quia nobiscum DEUS, i.e. *Because GOD is with us.*

“ Quia IMMANUEL, id est quia DEUS est cum EZECHIA contra Assyrios, viz. *Because IMMANUEL, GOD with us, is for EZECHIA against the Assyrians.*

Isaia, cap. IX. Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnum, &c. *The people who walked in darkness, saw a great light.*

“ A luce illa quam oppresso populo attulit EZECHIAS CHRISTI typus, rapitur propheta ad immensam & æternam CHRISTI lucem. *From that light which HEZEKIAS, a type of CHRIST, brought to an oppressed people,*
the

the prophet is carried away to the immense and eternal light of CHRIST.

“ *Isaia, cap. XIX. Et mittet eis servatorem, &c. And he will send a saviour to them; i. e. EZECHIAM; nam, Ægyptii ab Assyriis admodum oppressi, visâ EZECHIAE de Assyriis tantâ victoriâ, laudabant DOMINUM, cum Assyriis etiam fœdus componentes quæ omnia ad CHRISTUM sublimius spectant: That is HEZEKIAS; for the Egyptians having been greatly oppressed by the Assyrians, when they saw him have so great a victory over the Assyrians, praised the LORD, and entered into a treaty with them at the same time; all which things more sublimely belong to CHRIST.*

“ *Isaia, cap. XL. Vox clamantis in deserto; The voice of one crying in the wilderness.*

“ *Ad CYRI regis imperium facta est prætonis vox, ut per deserta quævis loca pateret via Israelitis a Babylone redeuntibus unde sumpta in occasione, in CHRISTUM rapitur propheta: Vide Jeremiæ 31. The voice of the prophet was directed to the empire of king CYRUS, to the end that a way for the Israelites, in their return from Babylon, might be made through any of the deserts under his dominions, from whence the prophet takes an occasion to allude to CHRIST: See Jeremiah 31.*

“ *Ibidem, ecce DEUS vester: And in the same place, behold your GOD.*

“ *Hoc ad literam de CYRO, ut cap. 5. This refers to CYRUS literally, as in Chapter the 5th.*

“ *Isaia, cap. XLI. Quis suscitavit ab oriente justitiam, &c. Isaiah, Chap. XLI. Who raised up the righteous man from the east, &c.*

THE HISTORY

“ Virum justitiæ, scilicet CYRUM, qui DEI
 “ justitiam executurus est perditâ Babylone.
*The righteous man, viz. CYRUS, who was going
 to execute the justice of GOD in the destruction of
 Babylon.*

“ Ibidem, ab ortu solis vocabat nomen meum:
 And in the context ; *He shall call upon my name
 from the rising of the sun.*

“ CYRUS invocavit nomen DEI veri ;
 “ 2 Par. xxxvj. & Ezræ j. Idque a parte aqui-
 “ lonis & orientis respectu Jerusalem. CYRUS
*called upon the name of the true GOD ; 2 Chro. xxxvj.
 & Ez. j. And that was north-east as to Jeru-
 salem.*

“ Isaïæ, cap. XLII. Et dabo te in fœdus
 “ populi, in lucem Gentibus : i. e. *And I will
 give thee for a covenant to the people, and for a
 light to the Gentiles.*

“ Sublimitas horum verborum soli CHRISTO
 “ convenit, unde & CYRO tanquam ejus typo
 “ data est ad tempus ea mens, ut mitis esset Ju-
 “ dæis fœdus servans ; gentes ad DEI lucem al-
 “ liciens & in carceribus hallucin ad lucem edu-
 “ cens ; fuit enim ibi quædam futuræ verita-
 “ tis obumbratio. *The sublimity of these words
 agree to CHRIST alone, from whence it was that
 such a temper of mind was given to CYRUS, a
 type of CHRIST, that he became such a friend to
 the Jews, as to take them into alliance, perswading
 the surrounding nations to embrace the true know-
 ledge of GOD, he drew them from their erroneous
 ignorance, in which they had been so long enslaved,
 into real light ; there was here likewise a shadow of
 future verity.*

“ Isaïæ, cap. XLIII. Servus meus quem
 “ eligi, &c. i. e. *My servant, whom I have
 chosen, &c.* “ Scilicet CYRUS, qui confessus
 “ est

“ est a DEO sibi esse ita dispositum. viz. CYRUS, who confessed that he was thus disposed by GOD himself.

“ Isaia, cap. XLIX. Et dixit leve est, ut sis mihi servus? &c. And he said, is it a small matter, that thou art my servant? &c.

“ Consolatur DEUS afflictum prophetam dicens ejus prophetiam, etiam Gentibus lucem allaturam, per CYRUM enim factum est ut ei fides adhiberetur; sed sublimius hæc omnia de CHRISTO; quanquam mysticus sensus non excludat literalem, longe inferiorem. GOD comforts the afflicted prophet, by telling him, that his prophecy should enlighten the Gentile world; for what was to be atchieved by CYRUS, was to gain credit to his prophecy; but these things, in a more sublime manner, belong to CHRIST; however, the mystical sense doth not exclude the literal, though this be much inferiour to that.

“ Isaia, cap. XLIX. Et erunt reges nutritii tui; i. e. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers.

“ Hæc ad literam completa docent EZRA, NEHEMIAS, ESTER, & NEBUCHODONOSOR, qui se, DANIELI incurvavit. These words were accomplished in EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTER, and NEBUCHADONZZAR; which last did homage to DANIEL.

“ Isaia, cap. LI. Quia lex a me exiet; i. e. For the law shall go forth from me.

“ Lex per CYRUM, id est, CHRISTUM, prolata de reedificatione nova Jerusalem; i. e. The law from CYRUS, viz. CHRIST predicting the re-building a New Jerusalem.

“ Isaia, cap. LIII. Quis credidit auditui nostro? i. e. Who has believed our report?

“ Incredibilis

THE HISTORY

“ Incredibilis res de CYRO & magnum
 “ etiam mysterium quod sub humilibus etiam
 “ historiæ typis lateant CHRISTI arcana su-
 “ blimia; i. e. *Something incredible as to CYRUS;*
when at the same time there is a great mystery
couched under it, viz. that under the mean types of
historical matters, the sublime secrets of CHRIST
are concealed.

“ Ibidem vulneratus est propter prævarica-
 “ tiones nostras: *In the context, he is said to be*
wounded for our prevarications.

“ Quasi exegentibus populi peccatis inter-
 “ fectum CYRUM deflet propheta, eò quod
 “ postea sub CAMBYSE multo deterius ha-
 “ buerint, impeditâ tunc & dirutâ templi ædi-
 “ ficatione jam inchoatâ, Dan. ix. fuitq; hæc
 “ a DEO data occasio prædicandi passionem
 “ CHRISTI, qui soli convenit horum verbo-
 “ rum sublimitas & veritas: *As if the prophet*
had deplored the death of CYRUS, for being slain
a sacrifice for the sins of the people, for which they
fared much worse under CAMBYSES, because then
the building of the temple, which had been begun
under CYRUS, was not only stopped, but demolish-
ed; Dan. ix. whereas this gave an handle to the
prophet, of preaching the sufferings of CHRIST,
to whom alone the sublimity and verity of these ex-
pressions relate.

“ Isaïæ, cap. LX. Omnes ipsi de Seba ve-
 “ niant, &c. i. e. *All they shall come from Seba,*
 &c.

“ Hæc omnia stante templo secundo esse
 “ juxta literam oblata variis historiis com-
 “ probatur, licet per Hyperbolen multa di-
 “ cantur ad CHRISTI ecclesiam mysticè re-
 “ ferenda. *That all these these things fell out ac-*
cording to the letter, while the second temple was
standing,

standing, is proved from the joyn't testimony of various histories; although, by an Hyperbole, many passages relating to the christian church may be therein told.

"Jeremiæ, cap. XXIII. Suscitabo ipsi DAVID germen justum. *I will raise to DAVID a righteous branch.*

"De germine ZERUBABEL juxta literam & quatenus in se regnum contineat; vide apud ZACHARIAM. *That this was meant of ZERUBABEL literally; and so far as he had the government in his hands, is plain from ZACHARY.*

"Ibidem; DOMINUS justitia nostra, &c. id est solâ DEI justitiâ sumus a Babilone, liberati eferuntur hæc mystice ad CHRISTUM qui vere est DEUS noster, & justitia nostra propheticus enim sermo est gladius utrinque scindens. *Again, the LORD our righteousness, &c. i. e. We are delivered from Babylon by the righteousness of GOD alone. These expressions refer to CHRIST mystically; he being truly our GOD, and our righteousness; for the word of the prophets is a two-edged sword.*

"Jeremiæ, cap. XXX. Et erit fortis ejus ex eo; i. e. *From the hand of him that was stronger than he.*

"Fortior rege Persarum erat ZERUBABEL, soli innitens DEI spiritui; Zachar. iv. Typo vero JESU CHRISTI qui solus DEO Patri hæret arctissimè. ZERUBABEL relying on the spirit of GOD, was stronger than the king of Persia; Zac. iv. *A true type of JESUS CHRIST, who alone so strictly adhered to GOD the Father.*

"Jeremiæ, cap. L. Quæretur iniquitas Israel & non erit, &c. quanquam variè illi
"accu-

“ accusentur, eis tamen parcit C Y R U S, id est

“ C H R I S T U S. *The Iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none, &c. altho' they shall have many charges brought against them; yet C Y R U S, i. e. C H R I S T spareth them.*

“ Ezechiel, cap. IX. Et gloria D E I Israel

“ elevata est à cherubi; super quem erat ad li-

“ men domus; i. e. *And the glory of the G O D of Israel was gone up from the cherub, where he was, to the threshold of the house.*

“ Translatio hic fit gloriæ D E I a lapideo

“ templo ad virum illum J E S U M C H R I S T U M,

“ qui & D E U S est, ipsis cherub. sublimior.

Here is a translation of the glory of G O D, from the temple of stone, to that man the true temple, J E S U S C H R I S T, who is also G O D, far above the cherubs themselves.

“ Ezechiel, cap. XL. Et ecce vir cujus as-

“ pectus, &c. i. e. *And beheld a man whose appearance, &c.*

“ C H R I S T U S structor cælistis civitatis in

“ excelsa monte Sion, quam rem in umbra hic

“ delineat. C H R I S T is the builder of the heavenly city, in the lofty mountain of Sion; which truth he delineates in a shadow.

“ Daniel, cap. IX. Ab exitu sermonis ad

“ reverti faciendum usq; ad Christum ducem

“ hebdomadæ septem, &c. i. e. *From the going forth of the commandment, to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah, the prince shall be seven weeks.*

“ Ab egressu prædicti ad me a D E O ser-

“ monis de restituenda & ædificanda Jerusalem

“ usq; ad ducem C Y R U M, C H R I S T U M

“ D E I. Qui id exequetur, hebdomades sunt

“ septem; hebdomadisq; sexaginta duabus re-

“ stituetur & ædificabitur platea & fossa in an-

“ gustia

“ gustia, scilicet temporum, & post eas scilicet 62. hebdomadas occidetur CYRUS, & erit in nihilum, dissipabitque ædificium, & desolabit CAMBYSES CYRO succedens scædus autem primùm firmabit DARIUS post quem, iterum sequetur ANTIOCHI abominatio stupenda, & erit finis orbis Judaici. *From the going forth of the commandment from GOD to me, about the restoring and building of Jerusalem unto CYRUS the prince, the CHRIST of GOD, are seven weeks; and in sixty-two weeks the streets and the wall shall be built again even in troublous times; and after sixty-two weeks CYRUS shall be slain, and brought to nought; and CAMBYSES, successor to CYRUS, shall destroy and desolate the building; but DARIUS shall first confirm the covenant: After whom shall again follow the stupendous abomination of ANTIOCHUS, and there shall be an end put to the Jewish state and polity.*

“ Ozeas, cap. XI. Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum; i. e. *Out of Egypt have I called my son.*

“ Scilicet populum Israel typum JESU CHRISTI veri filii DEI sicut, & SALOMONI dicitur, ero ei in patrem, & ipse erit mihi in filium; 1 Paral. xxij. & 28. Sc. *The people of Israel, a type of JESUS CHRIST, SON of the true GOD; even as it is said to SOLOMON, I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son; 1 Chron. xxij. & 18.*

“ Zacharias, cap. III. Ecce enim adduco servum meum germen; i. e. *For behold, I will bring forth my servant; the branch.*

“ Ecce ego venite facio servum meum ZERUBABEL germen, qui verum est DAVIDIS germen & CHRISTI regis germen in se continet. *Behold, I will make my servant ZERUBABEL the branch; to come, who is the true branch*

THE HISTORY

branch of DAVID, and contains in himself the branch of CHRIST our king.

“ Zacharias, cap. IX. Ecce! rex tuus veniet
 “ tibi justus & salvator, humilis & equitans su-
 “ per asinum, &c. i. e. Behold thy king cometh
 unto thee; he is just, having salvation; lovely,
 and riding upon an ass.

“ Matt. XXI. In humili ZERUBABEL in-
 “ dicatur regnatum germen; i. e. In the
 lowly ZERUBABEL, is shewn the branch that
 was to reign.

“ Johannis, cap. VI. Caro enim mea verè
 “ est cibus; verè non per tropum; i. e. For
 my flesh is meat indeed; indeed, not in figure.

“ The readers will easily perceive, that this
 “ account of SERVETUS’s performance upon
 “ the bible, comes from a learned hand: Perhaps
 “ I shall be able, in time, to communicate to
 “ the publick the notes which that physician
 “ added to PTOLEMY’s Geography, and which
 “ made CALVIN say, that SERVETUS had
 “ called MOSES, *Vanus praco Judeæ a vain Pa-*
 “ *negyrift of the land of Canaan.*

* Memoirs
 of Lite-
 rature,
 Vol. III.
 Art. 81.
 Pag. 373.

“ When * M. SIMON published his French
 “ translation of the New Testament, with
 “ notes; it was censured by the late bishop of
 “ Meaux, upon these words of St. LUKE’s
 “ gospel, chap. i. 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come*
upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall over-
shadow thee: Therefore also that holy Thing that
shall be born of thee, shall be called the SON of
 GOD. “ It is to be found in a book of MI-
 “ CHAEL SERVETUS, who very much in-
 “ sists upon the illative particle *ideo*, and ren-
 “ ders it *quapropter*. Consider (*says he*) the
 “ word *therefore*; observe the inference; mind
 “ the

“ the reason, why JESUS CHRIST is called
 “ SON of GOD. *Pondera verbum quapropter,*
 “ *nota illationem, nota rationem, quare FILIUS DEI*
 “ *vocetur*; though MALDONAT knew that
 “ SERVETUS was the author of that ex-
 “ plication, he did not scruple to follow it, and
 “ undertook to defend it against CALVIN.

* CALVIN acted very unwisely, when to evade * *Ineptè*
 the force of SERVETUS's (the modern Arian's) CALVI-
 argument, he interpreted, shall be called, to be, NUS, ut
 shall be declared the SON of GOD; for how SERVETI
 inconsistent must this interpretation be with the an- novi Ari-
 gel's reason? Therefore that holy Thing, which ani argu-
 shall be born of thee, shall be called the SON *mentum*
 of GOD. MALDONAT went upon this just *effugeret,*
 maxim, we must not put a wrong sense upon the *interpreta-*
 words of Scripture, in order to confute hereticks. *tus est vo-*
cabitur, id
est decla-
rabitur,

FILIUS DEI, quomodo enim cum hac interpretatione ratio angeli coha-
 rere potest: Ideo quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur FILIUS DEI,
 non debemus sacris literis abutentes hereticos refutare. MALDONAT
 in Loc.

“ † That reformer CALVIN kept a long † *Fidælis*
 “ correspondence with SERVETUS by way of *expositio*
 “ letter.” He † informs us, that he endea- *errorum*
 voured, for the space of sixteen years, to re- *MICHAELIS*
 claim that physician from his errors, *SERVETIS,*
Quantâ &c. among
potui mansuetudine admonui: jam me ante annos CALVIN's
sexdecim, non sine præsentis vita discrimine obtulisse *Theological*
meam operam, ad eum sanandum; i. e. That he *Tracts*
 had admonished him with all possible candor, *p. 836.*
 and given him his assistance towards his re- *Genevæ,*
 covery, not without some imminent hazard of *1576,*
 his life. “ SERVETUS writ several letters to † *Ibid.*
 “ CALVIN at Geneva, from Lyons and Dau- *p. 817.*
 “ phinè, and consulted him about several points.

* Ibid. P. 827, 828. " CALVIN * says, that SERVETUS sent him the three following questions from Lyons, and desired him to answer them.

" 1. An homo JESUS crucifixus sit FILIUS DEI, & quæ sit hujus filiationis ratio ?

1. *Whether the man JESUS, who was crucified, is the SON of GOD? And what is the foundation of that sonship?*

" 2. An regnum CHRISTI sit in hominibus ; quando quis ingrediatur & quando regeneretur ?

2. *Whether the kingdom of CHRIST is in men? When may a man be said to enter into it, and when to be regenerated?*

" 3. An baptismus CHRISTI debeat in fide fieri, sicut cœna, & quorsum hæc instituta sint fœdere novo ?

3. *Whether the Baptism CHRIST instituted ought to be received in faith, even as his supper is? and to what purpose these were instituted under the new covenant?*

" CALVIN answered those queries ; but SERVETUS, far from being satisfied with his explications , writ to him a second letter, containing a confutation of his answer. CALVIN being very much displeased with that letter, made a sharp reply to it, as he himself † owns. Whereupon SERVETUS, who was no less fiery than his antagonist, grew very angry with him. CALVIN says, this dispute occasioned the hatred, which SERVETUS conceived for him, and complains,

† Ibid. P. 827.

" plains, * that that heretick did not cease, * Ib. p. 835.
 " from that time, to make imprecations
 " against him.

" SERVETUS sent a manuscript to CAL-
 " VIN, to have his judgment about it, six
 " years before he was apprehended at Geneva.
 " That piece was never printed; it was pro-
 " duced against him at his tryal, as I shall shew
 " hereafter. Thus it appears, that a long
 " correspondence between CALVIN and SER-
 " VETUS, occasioned, at last, a mutual hatred
 " and animosity, which proved very fatal to
 " the latter.

" CALVIN was so incensed against SER-
 " VETUS, that he could not forbear to re-
 " vile him in his Commentaries upon the
 " Bible. He calls him a profligate fellow,
 " (*un mesçcant garnement*) full of pride, and a dog.
 " Upon † the first verse of the first chapter † This is in
 the edition
 of the year
 1563.
 " of St. JOHN's gospel. ‡ He wrote those
 " words before SERVETUS came to Geneva,
 " for the epistle dedicatory is dated January 1, ‡ Espag-
 nol de na-
 tion, nom-
 " 1553.

mé SERVET, lequel a forgé que ceste parole éternelle a lors seu-
 lement commencé d'estre, quand elle s'est manifestée en la creation
 du monde. — L'Evangeliste enseigne bien ici autrement, &c. Or
 je sçay bien que le chien abaye au contraire.

*A Spaniard, call'd SERVETUS, has broacht this doctrine, that
 the eternal word, only then began to be, when he manifested himself in
 the creation of the world, when St. JOHN means quite otherwise; but
 I know the dog will bark at it.*

" VARILLAS * affirms, that there is at * Histoire
 de l' he-
 resie ad
 ann. 1553.
 p. 350, 351.
 of the Paris
 edit. in 4°.
 " Paris an original letter of CALVIN to
 " FAREL, written in 1546, which was never
 " printed, and that these words are to be
 " found in it. SERVETUS has lately writ to
 " me, and sent me at the same time a large book stuff'd
 " with

with idle fancies, and full of arrogance. He says I shall find in it admirable things, and such as have been hitherto unheard of. He offers to come hither, if I like it: but I will not engage my word; for if he comes, and if any regard be had to my authority, I shall not suffer him to escape without losing his life.

*SORBER-
RIANA, "
P. 48, 49."
of the
Dutch edi-
tion, 1694.

"SORBIER * mentions the same letter, and says that GROTIUS saw it at Paris, and that these words were in it: *Audio SERVETUM huc venturum, ut mecum conferat, ego, si quid apud magistratus possum, faciam ut nunquam vivus abeat; i. e. I am inform'd that SERVETUS is coming hither, on purpose to have some conversation with me. If I have any influence on the magistrates of Geneva, I will take effectual care that he never goes from hence alive.* "If I am not very much mistaken, I have read this passage in a book of GROTIUS. The book mentioned in the words quoted by VARILLAS, is, without doubt, the manuscript which SERVETUS sent to CALVIN. The date of the letter, viz. 1546, does sufficiently prove it.

"SERVETUS continued to be so fond of his new opinions, that he resolved to publish a third book against the TRINITY, and some other doctrines. That book for which he was burnt at Geneva, came out at Vienne in Dauphine in the beginning of the year 1553, with this title, *Christianissimi Restitutio, &c.* A fuller account of which has been already given in page 30. Besides what I have said there, I shall observe, that he printed a thousand copies; that most of them were burnt at Vienne, with the author's effigies; and at Francfort, which is the reason why

" that

“ that book is so scarce ; * wherein it appears * *There*
 “ SERVETUS was neither an *Arian* nor a *Photinian* ; *was a copy*
 “ that he asserted not only the pre-existence of *of that book*
 “ CHRIST, but also that CHRIST is not a *in the year*
 “ creature, nor a being of finite power, but *1613, in*
 “ true GOD, and that he ought to be wor- *the library*
 “ shipped as such ; that he expresses himself *of the*
 “ so confusedly, that 'tis no easy thing to have *Landgrave*
 “ a notion of his doctrine ; that he calls it a *of Hesse-*
 “ mystery unknown to the world ; but at the *Cassel.*
 “ same time owns, that those who acknow-
 “ ledge CHRIST to be only the MESSIAS,
 “ and the SON of GOD, as he is a Man,
 “ may attain to salvation ; that he expresses,
 “ upon all occasions, a great indignation
 “ against the church of *Rome*, and takes it to
 “ be the beast mentioned in the *Apocalypse*.
 “ I shall therefore insert some passages out of
 “ it, as a specimen of his style, and of his
 “ abhorrence for the doctrines and practices of
 “ the church of *Rome*.”

† *The devil, (says he) with wonderful artifice, sug-* † Pag. 520.
gests to the minds of the papists the doctrine of making Insigni
prayers for the souls of the dead, that men may fraude
neglect the duties of a good life, whilst they live. (says he)
 papistis
 suggestit

diabolus illa pro mortuis suffragia, et viventes homines negligent
 bene facere, &c.

‡ *Is it not the vainest conjecture in the world, ‡ Pag. 534.*
a fiction of demons, and a certain sign of anti- Annon
christ, to erect the supremacy of the pope, upon vanitatis
some passages only of PETER's faith? To put such est divina-
a wrong monum
 figmen-

tum, & antichristi præludens augurium, ex quibusdam fidei PETRI
 testimoniis regium papatum inferre ? Theraphisticum scelus ex est
 detortis scripturæ locis idola & cucullas inducere, & traditiones va-
 rias tanto sacrilegio de libro DEI suffurari — In vanum colitur
 DEUS à papistis per papæ doctrinas & mandata hominum, *Matt. xv.*

a wrong sense upon places of scripture, as to make 'em speak in favour of idols and cowles, and sacrilegiously to foist into the book of GOD; such a variety of traditions is monstrous wickedness. — In vain is GOD worshipped by the papists, thro' the doctrines of popes, and the commandments of men; Matt. xv.

* Pag. 502.

Admiracione profecto & stupore nunc duceretur PETRUS, si mimicum hunc ludum videret à mitra tis illis, excullatis, & rasis capiribus cum

vestimentis illis ita celebrari, universo populo tam insigniter idolotantre — nulla in Babylonicâ illâ misâ est eucharistia, nulla communio-
nis cœna, nulla charitas, nulla corporis CHRISTI participatio. Sed velut in synagoga sathanæ, sacrificulus sibi soli frangit totulum azimæ hostiæ & privatim devorat, dicens, Corban, hoc est vobis, etiam proderit.

These passages would have been sufficient to provoke the Roman-catholicks to put him to death, tho' he had not denied the Trinity. SERVETUS appears very devout throughout the whole book; and concludes his whole discourse, concerning the sixty signs of the reign of antichrist, with these words.

† Quisquis vere credit papam

esse antichristum, vere quoque credet papisticam Trinitatem, pædobaptismum, & alia papatus sacramenta esse doctrinas dæmoniorum. O CHRISTE JESU, FILI DEI liberater clementissime: qui toties populum ab angustiis liberaisti libera nos miseros ab hac Babylonicâ antichristi captivitatæ, ab hypocrisi ejus, tyrannide & idolatria. Amen.

† Whoever believes, that the pope is antichrist, will

will also believe, that a popish ~~ty~~ty, infant baptism, and the other sacraments of the papacy, are the doctrines of demons. O! CHRIST JESUS, Son of GOD, most merciful Redeemer, who hast so often delivered thy people from their miseries, deliver us, miserable men, from these Babylonish fetters and shackles of antichrist, from his hypocrisy, tyranny and idolatry. Amen.

SERVETUS believed that the reign of antichrist began in the fourth century, if not sooner. That physician is the first who mentioned the circulation of the blood. The passage of his *Christianismi Restitutio* relating to that matter, may be seen in a book of * Dr. * WOTTON's, concerning *antient and modern learning*; which the compiler of this history of SERVETUS's life chooses to transcribe for the entertainment of the *English* reader.

* WOTTON of
antient and
modern
learning.
p. 229. An.
1697.

' Since the antients have no right to so noble a discovery, as that of the circulation of the blood; it may be worth while to enquire, to whom of the moderns the glory of it is due; for this is also exceedingly contested. The first step that was made towards it, was, the finding that the whole mass of the blood passes through the lungs, by the pulmonary artery and vein.

' The first that I could ever find who had a distinct idea of this matter, was MICHAEL SERVETUS, a *Spanish* physician, who was burnt for *Arianism* at *Geneva*, near one hundred and forty years ago. Well had it been for the church of CHRIST, if he had wholly confined himself to his own profession! His sagacity in this particular, before so much in the dark, gives us great reason to believe, that the world might then had just cause to

K

' have

* Vide
Sandii Bi-
bliothecae
Antitritario-
rum, p. 13.

‘ have blessed his memory. In a book of his,
‘ entitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, printed in the
‘ year MDLIII. * He clearly asserts, that the
‘ blood passes through the lungs, from the left
‘ to the right ventricle of the heart, and not
‘ through the *partition* which divides the two
‘ ventricles, as was at that time commonly
‘ believed. How he introduces it, or in
‘ which of the six discourses into which SER-
‘ VETUS divides his book, it is to be found,
‘ I know not; having never seen the book my-
‘ self.

‘ Mr. CHARLES BERNARD, a very learn-
‘ ed and eminent Surgeon of London, who
‘ did me the favour to communicate this pas-
‘ sage to me (set down in the margin at
‘ length) which was transcribed out of SER-
‘ VETUS, could inform me no further, only
‘ that he had it from a learned friend of his
‘ who had himself copied it from SER-
‘ VETUS.

The author of this history having (since
Mr. WOTTON's quotation) seen another, viz.
in the *Bibliographiæ Anatomica Specimen*, or
catalogue of almost all the authors who have
expressly or occasionally been famous in anatomy
down from HIPPOCRATES to HARVEY
by JAMES DOUGLAS, M. D. Soc. R. S.
in 8vo. p. 85. He chooses to give that of the
latter. Dr. DOUGLAS having said, that
SERVETUS was a Spaniard, an able physi-
cian, an heretick, and that he was burnt at
Geneva in the year 1553, at the earnest solici-
tation of CALVIN, adds, that SERVETUS
had published two pieces; one of which was
intituled, *De Trinitatis erroribus Libri Septem.* and
the other, *Christianismi Restitutio*, and, that the

were

were printed at *Basil*; tho' it is certain, as before, that the first was printed at *Haguenaw* in *Alsatia*, and the second at *Viennè* in *Dauphinè*. Dr. DOUGLAS observes, that SERVETUS was apprized of the *circulation* of the blood; and it was from thence, no doubt, that he says, that passage was found in the 5th book of SERVETUS's *Restitution of Christianity*.

SERVETUS saith, that there are three sorts of spirits in the human body, * *viz.* * *Natural, vital, and animal*, which are not in reality three, but two distinct spirits only; the arteries communicating by *anastomosis*, the vital spirit to the veins, in which it is call'd *natural*. The first spirit then is the blood, whose seat is in the liver, and in the veins of the body; the second is the *vital* spirit, whose seat is in the heart and the arteries; the third is the *animal* spirit, whose seat is in the brain and nerves.

K 2

* That ab arteriis communicatur, in quibus dicitur naturalis. Primus ergo est sanguis, cujus sedes est in hepate, & corporis venis. Secundus est spiritus vitalis, cujus sedes est in corde & corporis arteriis. Tertius est spiritus animalis, cujus sedes est in cerebro & corporis nervis.

Ut autem intelligatur quomodo sanguis sit ipsissima vita, prius cognoscenda est substantialis generatio ipsius vitalis spiritus, qui ex aere inspirato & subtilissimo sanguine componitur & nutritur. Vitalis spiritus in sinistro cordis ventriculo, suam originem habet, juvantibus maxime pulmonibus, ad ipsius perfectionem, est spiritus, tenuis caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, ignea potentia, ut sit quasi, ex puriore sanguine lucens vapor substantiam continens, aquæ, aeris, & ignis. Generatur ex facta in pulmone commixtione, inspirati aeris, tum elaborato subtili sanguine, quem dexter ventriculus sinistro communicat.

Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis medium, ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio à dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones ductu agitur sanguis subtilis. A pulmonibus preparatur, flavus efficitur & à vena arteriosa in arteriam venosam transfunditur; deinde in ipsa arteria venosa inspirato aeri miscetur, &

& expiratione a fuligine expurgatur. Atque ita tandem a sinistro cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diastolen attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis.

Quod ita per pulmones fiat communicatio & præparatio, docet conjunctio varia & communicatio venæ arteriosæ cum arteria venosa in pulmonibus.

Confirmat hoc magnitudo insignis venæ arteriosæ quæ nec talis nec tanta facta esset, nec tantam a corde ipso vim purissimi sanguinis in pulmones emitteret, ob solum eorum nutrimentum; nec cor pulmonibus hac ratione serviret, cum præsertim antea in embryone tolerent pulmones ipsi aliunde nutriri ob men branulas seu — cordis usque ad horum nativitatem; ut docet GALENUS.

PAULUS infra. Ille itaq; spiritus vitalis a sinistro cordis ventriculo in arterias totius corporis deinde transfunditur, ita ut qui tenuior est, superiora petit, ubi magis elaboratur, præcipue in plexu retiformi sub basi cerebri cito, ubi ex vitali fieri incipit animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ rationem accedens.

‘ That we may therefore conceive how the
‘ blood comes to be the very life ; we must
‘ first know, that the substantial generation of
‘ the vital spirit itself is made and nourished
‘ by the inspired air, and the most subtil blood.
‘ The vital spirit hath its origin from the left
‘ ventricle of the heart, but its perfection
‘ chiefly from the lungs : It is a fine spirit,
‘ produced by the power of a gentle heat, of
‘ a bright colour, of an igneous quality ; and
‘ is, as it were, a lucid vapour from the purest
‘ blood, having the substance of water, air,
‘ and fire. It is generated by the air, which
‘ we inspire, mixt in the lungs with the elaborated subtil blood, which the right ventricle
‘ communicates to the left.

‘ Now this communication is not made
‘ through the *septum* of the heart, as ’tis commonly believed ; but the subtil blood is driven by a wonderful contrivance, from the
‘ right ventricle of the heart, through a long
‘ duct, into the lungs, by which it is prepared

pared, and made bright; then it passeth
 from the * *vena arteriosa* into the *arteria ve-* * *Pulmo-*
rosa; there it mixeth with inspired air, and *nary arte-*
 is purged from its *fuligo* by expiration. *ry; pulmo-*
 Lastly, the whole mixture is brought into *nary vein.*
 the left ventricle of the heart by *diastole*, and
 is become fit matter to produce the vital spirit.

That the communication and the prepara-
 tion, are made through the lungs, we learn,
 from the various conjunction and communi-
 cation of the *vena arteriosa* with the *arteria*
venosa in the lungs; this is confirmed by the
 considerable bigness of the *vena arteriosa*,
 which hath never been so large, nor would
 send forth from the heart into the lungs,
 such a quantity of the pure blood, was it
 only for the nourishment of the lungs; nor
 would the heart serve the lungs upon that
 account, since the lungs themselves in an
embryo, till the time of its birth, do receive
 their nutrition from something else, because
 of the little membranes of the heart, ac-
 cording to GALENUS.

A little after he adds, that vital spirit
 therefore is transfused from the left ven-
 tricle of the heart into the the arteries of the
 whole body, in such a manner, that the most
 subtil portion of it flies upward, where it
 is further refined, especially in the † *plexus* † *Rete mi-*
retiformis, under the basis of the *cerebrum*, *rabile.*
 where the vital spirit begins to be changed
 into the animal one, drawing nearer to the
 true nature of a rational soul.

This is that famous passage of SERVETUS,
 which is so much taken notice of, on ac-
 count of the circulation of the blood. There
 are

THE HISTORY

are indeed several things here that are very remarkable, *viz.* that the blood, in a great stream, passes through a very large and wide duct, from the right ventricle of the heart, into the lungs; that there the blood is purified; that from thence it is driven, by the pulmonary vein, into the left ventricle of the heart; that there is an immediate communication between the arteries and the veins, by *anastomasis*; that the most pure part of the blood, refined in the lungs, enters the arteries, and from the arteries into the veins, &c. This shews that SERVETUS was a great observer of nature, and no doubt would have improved those notions, and carried them much further, had he not been prevented by an untimely death. However, a learned physician, a friend of mine, makes this just and judicious remark, *viz.* that it appears, that though SERVETUS had some knowledge of the circulation of the blood; yet it must be own'd, that it was very imperfect, intricate, and considerably short of the clear and full discovery made by our learned HARVEY, and others: For, 1st, the perfection that he supposes the blood acquires in the lungs, is only to be freed from an imaginary *fuligo*; whereas the true perfection consists in dividing the particles of the blood, and in mixing the globular particles exactly with the *serum*, as a mill-stone grinds corn, &c. 2^{dly}, He does not seem to assert, that the blood, as blood, is driven into the arteries and veins, but only a certain vapour, bright and igneous, &c. but this must be referr'd to the learned gentlemen,

gentlemen, who make it their business to enquire into these parts of nature.

The author of the *Bibliothèque Angloise* * * Biblio-
says, that 'SERVETUS was a subtil meta-
' physician, as it appears from the whole theque,
' tenour of his 4th book of the Trinity ; from Angloise,
' whence it is plain, that he had read the p. 101.
' schoolmen, and many of the fathers ; that
' he was a great enemy to the doctrine of ab-
' solute predestination, and a patron of liberty ;
' that he understood the *Hebrew* tongue ;
' that he believed the soul to be material ;
' and that what he saith of the nature of the
' soul, and of the holy spirit, is not very in-
' telligible.

" SERVETUS was more cautious than he
" had been twenty-two years before ; for he
" did not put his name to his last book.
" However, he was not unwilling to be
" thought the author of it ; for MICHAEL
" is one of the interlocutors of one of the
" two dialogues inserted in that work ; and
" PETER, the other interlocutor, and begins
" with these words, En adest, SERVETUS
" est, quem ego quærebam ; i. e. *Here he is,*
" *it is SERVETUS himself, the very man I was*
" *enquiring after.* Tho' the *Christianismi Resti-*
" *tutio* was printed very privately, CALVIN
" was informed that SERVETUS was the au-
" thor of it, and had a copy sent to him ;
" whereupon he desired a man, named WIL-
" LIAM TRIE, to write a letter to Lyons in
" March 1553, wherein SERVETUS was re-
" presented as a very pernicious man. That
" letter was attended with the title page, the
" index, and the first leaves of the book.
" SERVETUS

THE HISTORY

“SERVETUS complained of it upon his tryal
 “at *Geneva* and said that CALVIN had
 “sent those sheets to *Lyons* to have him ar-
 “rested, and prosecuted as an heretick.
 “About a fortnight after CALVIN sent, by
 “the same man, above twenty *latin* letters,
 “which he had received from SERVETUS,
 “that he might be the better convicted of
 “his heresy. Those letters were mentioned
 “in the sentence pronounced against him at
 “*Vienne*.

“CALVIN succeeded in his design : SER-
 “VETUS was, in the beginning of *June*, ap-
 “prehended at *Vienne* by vertue of WIL-
 “LIAM TRIE’S letters. The following cir-
 “cumstances are very remarkable: The vice-
 “bailiff carried him to prison, as if it had
 “been to visit a sick person, and ordered the
 “goaler to use him well. His own servant
 “was allowed to lie in his chamber, and
 “every body had the liberty to see him. The
 “author of the *Biblioteque Angloise* saith, that
 “as SERVETUS was an able phyician, so he
 “had, no doubt, a great many friends at
 “*Vienne*. SERVETUS was not long under
 “confinement: Two days after, upon a *Fri-*
 “*day*, about nine of the clock in the morn-
 “ing, having asked the goaler the key of
 “the house of office, he made his escape
 “through it.

“The magistrates being informed that he
 “had run away, met on the 17th of *June*,
 “and condemned him to be burned alive, with
 “a slow fire, if he could be apprehended;
 “and in the mean time to be burnt in effigie,
 “with his books. Accordingly, on the same
 “day, his effigies being laid upon a cart, was
 “carried

“ carried to the place of execution, fastened
 “ to a gibbet, and burnt with five bales of his
 “ books. Here follows the sentence pro-
 “ nounced against him.

“ * Between the procurator of
 “ king † *Daulphin* plaintiff, upon
 “ the scandalous crime of heresy,
 “ dogmatifation, composition of
 “ new doctrines, and heretical
 “ books, schism, and perturbation
 “ of union and publick peace, re-
 “ bellion and disobedience to the
 “ ordinances made against heresies,
 “ effraction and evasion from the
 “ royal *Delphinal* prisons on the one
 “ part, and Mr. MICHAEL SUR-
 “ VETS de VILLENEUFUE,
 “ physician, late prisoner in the
 “ *Delphinal* palace at *Vienne*, and
 “ at present a fugitive, on account
 “ of the said crimes, on the other
 “ part.

L

The

French kings in force in that province, except in them they be stiled *Dauphins* of *Viennois*. And this is the reason, that in the sentence against *SERVETUS*, mention is made of *HENRY* the 11d. under the name of king *Dauphin*.

I shall make no alteration in the orthography.

* Entre le procureur du roy *Daulphin* demandeur en crime d'heresie scandaleuse, dogmatifation, composition de nouvelles doctrines & livres heretiques schisme & perturbation de l'union & repos publics, rebellion & desobeissance aux ordonnances faictes contre les heresies, effraction & evasion de prisons royales *Delphinales*, d'une part; & Mre MICHEL de VILLENEUFUE medecin, parcy devant prisonnier aux prisone du pallaix *Delphinal* de *Vienne*, & a present fugitif a cause desdits crimes, d'autre.

Ven

† *Vienne* is in *Dauphiné*, an archbishoprick, and the capital city; it is situated upon the *Rhone*, about thirty-five miles from *Lyons*. That province was formerly independent on the French kings, having sovereign princes of its own, called *Dauphins*. But *HUMBERT*, the last *Dauphin*, having had the misfortune of dropping his only son into the *Rhone*, entered into a monastery, anno 1349, and gave his country unto *PHILIP* of *Valois*, the French king; on condition, that the eldest son of the king should be called *Dauphin* for ever after. Nor are any edicts or declarations of the

Veu par nous les pieces justificatives desdites heresies, mesmes les epistres & escritures de la main dudit VILLENEUFUE adressee, a Mr. JEHAN CALVIN prescheur de *Geneve*, & par le dit de VILLENEUFUE recogneues, ses reponces, confessions & negations, les reponces & autres procedures concernantes BALTHASARD ARNOLLET imprimeur, certaines balles & livres imprimez, desquels l'intitulation est *Christianismi Restitutio*, les tesmoings examinez sur ce que le dit de VILLENEUFUE avoit compose & fait imprimer ledit livre à ses despens, les rapports des docteurs en theologie & autres personnes notables sur les erreurs contenus audit livre & epistres. Et lesquels erreurs & heresies sont d'ailleurs manifestes par la lectures d'yeux.

Faites sur l'evasion des prisons & diligences de apprehender ledit VILLENEUFUE adjournement a troys briefs jours & defaults sur iceux abtennus, recollemens des tesmoings, conclusions diffinitives dudit procureur du roy *Daulphin*, tout le qui a esté remys par de vers nous, le tout consideré, nous avons dict & disons les dictes defaults avoir esté bien & deuement obtenus, pour le profit desquels nous avons forclos, & forcluons ledit de VILLENEUFUE de toutes exceptions & defences, declairé & declairons alleint & convaincu des cas & crimes a luy imposez, pour reparation desquels nous l'avons condamné & condamnons assavoir pour le regard de l'amende pecuniaire en la somme de mille livres tournois d'amende envers le roy *Daulphin*, cela estre incontinent qu'il sera apprehendé, conduyt sur un tumbereau avec ses livres a jour & heure de marché des la porte du pallaix *Delphinal* par les carrefours & lieux accoutumez jusques au lieu de la Hale de la presente cité, & subsequemment en la place appellée d'*Charneve*, & illec estre bruslé tout vif a petit feu, tellement que son corps soit mis en cendre. Cependant sera la presente sentence executée en effigie, avecques laquelle seront seditz livres brusles. Et si l'avons condamné & condamnons es despens & frais de justice, desquels nous reservons la taxe, declairans tous & chacun ses biens acqys & confisqués au proffit de qui appartiendra, lesdits frais de justice & amende sur iceux biens au prealable livrés & payés. De la cour vybally & juge *Delphinal*. GRATER assesseur. CARVER assesseur. PUTOD assesseur. DU PRAT assesseur. ADEBAIS assesseur. BERAND assesseur. PHINERET assesseur. TAMPTE-SIEU PASSARD assesseur. BERTIER assesseur. P. le COURT assesseur. LOYS MARCEL assesseur. CHRISTOFFLE assesseur. Publiée ladite sentence en plein jugement à l'audiance dudit procureur du roy *Daulphin*. Nous vybally & juge surdit seans dans l'auditoire du pallaix *Delphinal* de *Vienne* le dix septieme jour du mois de juing l'an mille cinq cens cinquante troys. Presens a ce Mesrs. PHILIBERT COLLINS, ALEXANDRE ROLLAND, CLAUDE MAGUIN, CHARLES PERDOMEY, PIERRE des VIGNES, & plusieurs autres praticiens de *Vienne* illec estans, & moy greffier soubsigné CHASALIS.

Dudit

Dudit jour environ l'heure de mydy après que l'effigie dudit VILLENEUFUE avoir esté faicte au devant dudit pallaix *Delphinal*, icelle effigie par FRANÇOIS BERO DE executeur de la haute justice, lequel l'on a envoyé querir à ces fins, a esté mise sur un tumbe-reau avec cinq basses des livres composés par icelluy VILLENEUFUE, & apres ledit tombereau, chargé desdits effigie & livres, a esté conduyt & mené par ledit executeur des la porte dudit pallaix par les carrefours & lieux accoutumés jusques au lieu de la hale de la presente cite de *Vienne*, & subsequemment en la place appelée la charneve, dans laquelle ladite effigie a esté attaché à une potence expresement érigée & après bruslée avec lesdits livres a petit feu par ledit executeur, lequel, a mis a deue & entiere execution ladite sentence pour le regard de ladite effigie, selon la forme & teneur, en presence de GUIGUES AMEROSIN crieur & trompette de *Vienne*, CLAUDE REYMET, MICHAEL BASSET sergens royaulx *Delphinaulx*, SERMET des CHAMS . . . de *Vienne*, & de plusieurs aultres gens illec assembles pour voir faire ladite execution. Ainsi à este procedé & par moy greffier soubnomme receu CHASALIS. Extrait des registres de la cour du balliage de *Vienne* par moy greffier soubsigne, CHASALIS.

' The pieces justifying the said heresies
' having been laid before us, and also the
' epistles and manuscripts of the said VILLE-
' NEUFUE, directed to Mr. JOHN CALVIN,
' preacher at *Geneva*, and recognized by the
' said VILLENEUFUE; his answers, confes-
' sions, and negations; the responses, and
' other procedures concerning BALTHASARD
' ARNOLLET, printer, certain bales and
' books printed; the title of which is *Chri-*
' *stianismi Restitutio*; the witnesses having been
' examined upon the matter that the said
' VILLENEUFUE had composed, and caused
' the said book to be printed at his own charge,
' the reports of the doctors of divinity, and
' other notable persons, touching the errors
' contained in the said book and epistles: And
' these errors and heresies are manifest by the
' reading of the aforesaid pieces. Having, upon
' the escape out of prison, used all diligence

' to apprehend him the said VILLENEUFUE,
 ' and issued summons for his appearance with-
 ' in three days, and defaults thereon being
 ' obtained, the witnesses being re-examined,
 ' made the definite conclusion of the said
 ' procurator of king *Daulphin*, and all that
 ' has been laid before us; the whole having
 ' been considered, we have declared, and do
 ' declare the said defaults to have been well and
 ' duly obtained; for the sake of which, we
 ' have fore-closed, and do fore-close the said
 ' VILLENEUFUE from all exceptions and
 ' defences; we have declared, and do declare
 ' him attainted and convicted of the matter
 ' and crimes laid to his charge; for the repa-
 ' ration of which, we have condemned him,
 ' and do condemn him; to wit, in a pecuniary
 ' mulct of a thousand livers, to be paid to the
 ' king *Daulphin*; and as soon as he shall be
 ' taken, he shall be drawn in a dung-cart,
 ' with his books, on the market-day and hour,
 ' from the gate of the *Delphinal* palace,
 ' through the streets, and accustomed places,
 ' to the common hall of the present city; and
 ' from thence to the place called the *Charneve*,
 ' and there he shall be burnt alive, with a
 ' slow fire, until his body shall be reduced to
 ' ashes: In the mean time the present sentence
 ' shall be executed in effigy, with which the
 ' said books shall be burnt; and we have con-
 ' demned him, and do condemn him to de-
 ' fray the charge of the law, of which we re-
 ' serve the taxation; declaring all and singular
 ' his goods got and confiscated, for the ad-
 ' vantage of whomsoever they shall belong to.
 ' The aforesaid charges of the law and fine
 ' upon the said goods, being first of all levied
 ' and

and paid. Done at the court, the vice bailiff, and *Delphinal* judge, GRATER, CARVER, PUTOD, Du PRAT, ADEBAIS, BERAND, PHI. NERET, TAMPTESIEU PASSARD, BERTIER, P. le COURT, LOYS MARCET, CHRISTOPHER, assessors. The said sentence being publish'd in full judgement, in the audience of the said procurator of king *Daulphin*, we the vice-bailiff, and judge aforesaid, sitting in the court of the *Delphinal* palace of *Vienne*, the seventeenth day of the month of *June*, in the year one thousand five hundred fifty three. Present to this were, PHILIBERT COLLINS, ALEXANDER ROLLAND, CLAUDE MAGUIN, CHAR. PERDOMEY, PETER de VIGNES, and divers others, practitioners of law at *Vienne*; and I the register under-written, CHASALIS.

On the said day, about noon, as soon as the effigies of the said VILLENEUFUE was made at the said *Delphinal* palace. The said effigie was, by the hand of FRANCIS BERODE, the common hangman, whom they had sent for to that end, put in a dung-cart, with five bales of books made by the said VILLENEUFUE; and afterwards the said dung-cart, loaded with the said effigies and books, was conducted and drawn by the said executioner, from the gate of the said palace, through the streets and the accustomed places, to the hall of the present city of *Vienna*, and afterwards to the place called the *Charneve*, in which place the said effigies was tied to a gibbet, erected for that very purpose; and then burnt with a slow fire, together with the said books, by the said executioner,

tioner, who did duly and compleatly execute the said sentence, with respect to the said effigies, according to due form and tenure, in the presence of GUIGUES AMBROSIN, cryer and bell-man of *Vienne*; CLAUDE REYMET, MICHEL BASSET, royal *Delphinal* sergeants; SERMET de CHAMS . . . of *Vienne*, and many other spectators of the said execution. This was the process, and received by me, the register under-named, CHASALIS. An extract of the registers of the court of the bailiffwick of *Vienne*, by me the register under-written, CHASALIS.

“ When this sentence was pronounced
 “ against SERVETUS, it was a common
 “ thing to burn the protestants in *France*.
 “ That very year many of them were slain for
 “ the word of GOD, and the testimony which
 “ they held.

* Fidelis
 expositio
 errorum,
 SERVET.
 p. 827.

* CALVIN, towards the conclusion of that part of his treatise, wherein he endeavours to defend this proposition; *That christian magistrates have a power lodged in them, to inflict capital punishments on hereticks, makes this observation:*

† Verum
 quicquid
 de jure

† That whatever he had advanced in support

magistratum probatum sit, me propria invidia, qua gravior apud multos, non levat. Nihil minus decuisse aiunt, quam ut SERVETUM professis CHRISTI hostibus quasi immanibus bestiis objicerem. Mea enim opera factum fuisse affirmant, ut Viennæ in provincia *Lugdunensi* captus fuerit. Sed unde mihi tanta cum papæ satellitio repente familiaritas? Unde etiam tanta gratia? Scilicet credibile erit, literas inter eos ultro citroque volitare, quibus non minus est inter se dissidium quam CHRISTO cum BELIAL. Quare pluribus verbis tam futilem calumniam refellere nihil attinet, quæ simplici negatione fracta concidit. Jam fluxerunt anni quatuor ex quo hanc de me fabulam commentus est SERVETUS ipse, & spargendum

dum *Venetis* curavit quanquam odiumnè mihi de nihilo malignè confare voluerit, an falsò suspicatus sit quod scribebat non disputo. Tantum quæro si jam tunc meo judicio proditus fuerat, quí factum est, ut triennium quietus & sine molestiâ ante hostium oculos transigeret.

port of such a power, it did not at all relieve him under that burthen of invidious reflections, which many then cast upon him; objecting to him, that *SERVETUS* had been apprehended at *Vienne* by his means, and that he had delivered him into the hands of the professed enemies of *CHRIST*, which was much the same as if he had exposed him to wild beasts. *CALVIN* makes a very lame defence upon this head: He wonders how it should come to pass, that all of a sudden there should start up so great familiarity and friendship between him and the guardians of the papacy? Will it ever be believ'd, *says he*, that there is such a free correspondence kept up by way of letters between me and them, who are not less at variance, one with another, than *CHRIST* is with *BELIAL*? Whereas, indeed, there is nothing more wanting to refute such a foolish calumny, than the bare denial of it: (He adds) that *SERVETUS* had four years before spread this report among the Roman catholicks; and that if he had informed against him then, the papists would hardly have spared him without meddling with him for three years together.' But all this, and more that *CALVIN* adds, does not at all clear him from the imputation. The question was, whether or no *CALVIN* had given any information to the Roman catholicks concerning *SERVETUS*'s being an heretick? He should

should have answered that question in the affirmative, or in the negative. *However, it is certain that SERVETUS was imprisoned at Vienne by means of CALVIN's information. The prisoner laid this to his charge in a full court, and it does not appear that CALVIN does in so many words deny it. Besides, in the sentence pronounced against SERVETUS at Vienne, mention is made of the letters and books written by SERVETUS's own hand, and sent by him to CALVIN. (Les epîtres & ecritures de la main de SERVETUS adressées à CALVIN prescheur de Geneve & par ledit SERVETUS reconnues).* But after all the above trifling of that reformer, he saith,

* Nec vero si vere id mihi ob-
jicerent,
putarem
esse negandi cau-
sam, qui
non diffi-
mulo, me
authore
factum
esse ut in
hac urbe
deprensus
ad causam
dicendam
postulare-
tur obstre-
pant licet
vel male-

voli, vel maledici homines, ego libenter fateor ac præ me fero (quia secundum urbis leges aliter cum homine jure agi non poterat) ex me prodiisse accusatorem: nec inficior meo consilio dictatam esse formulam, qua paterficeret aliquis in causam ingressus.

† Hoc tantum in presentia testatum volo me non ita capitaliter fuisse infestum, quin licitum fuerit vel solâ modestia, nisi mente privatus foret, vitam redimere. Sed nescio quid dicam, nisi fatali insania fuisse correptum, ut se præcipitem jaceret. Nam quum post octo

* Nor yet, was, what these men object to me really fact, should I think I have any manner of reason to deny it; since I do not pretend to deny that I was the cause of his being apprehended in this city, that he might be put upon his tryal. Let men of impious minds, and malignant tongues, exclaim against me never so much, I frankly own, and openly profess, (because, according to the laws of this city, the man could not otherwise have justice done him) that it was long of me that the plaintiff appeared against him; nor do I deny that the form of his indictment was drawn up by my advice. And in the same page he adds, † This I will

octo dies iterum esset productus, & libera conferendi nobiscum illi daretur facultas, se tristitia & curis impediri prætexuit — itaque probabilis suspicio est alicunde vanâ fiduciâ inflatum fuisse quæ illum perdiderit.

' will only give my word for at present, that
' I was not so mortally enraged against him,
' but that had he not been lost to all sense, it
' was in his power to have saved his life, by
' his modesty alone. Nor do I know what to
' say, unless it be this, that he precipitated
' himself to his end by his own fatal madness:
' For when he was to have been brought be-
' fore us a second time, eight days after the
' first, and he had full liberty allowed him of
' conversing freely with us; he excused him-
' self under the pretence of his being hindered
' by the weight of his afflictions; tho' the
' most probable conjecture in this matter, is,
' that he was infatuated to his destruction,
' from a groundless confidence of his escaping
' some other way.

This is only a part of the weak apology that this reformer makes for his imbruing his hands in the blood of SERVETUS, whom in the same page he calls, in ridicule, the holy martyr of his party; *sancto suo martyri*. I shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to quote some more passages out of this treatise of CALVIN.

In the mean time, let us go on from the process against SERVETUS and his execution in effigie at *Vienne*, towards that more real and tragical one at *Geneva*.

" * Dr. SERVETUS having made his escape * Biblio-
" from the prison of *Vienne*, resolved to retire teque An-
" to *Naples*, and to practise physick among gloise,
" his country-men in that city. He took the vol. II.
p. 109.
" way

M

“ way of *Geneva*, and arrived there on foot,
 “ having left off riding at a place called *Le*
 “ *Luyset*, where he lay the night before ; he
 “ lodged at the *Rose Inn*, designing to hire a
 “ boat the next day in his way to *Zurich* *. I
 * Il dit a “ have not been able to know upon what day
 fes juges “ qu’il avoit “ he came to *Geneva*. ’Tis highly probable,
 déjà parlé “ that he rather chose to go to *Naples*, by the
 à l’Hôtel “ way of *Switzerland*, than by that of *Pied-*
 pour trou- “ *mont*, because he hoped, that in case he
 ver une “
 barque, “ should be discovered, the protestants would
 qui le me- “ be more merciful to him than the roman
 nât par le “ catholicks ; but he was very much mistaken ;
 lac aussi “ for *CALVIN* being informed that he was in
 haut qu’il “ town, acquainted the first *Syndic* with it,
 feroit pos- “ and caused him to be apprehended. He
 sible, pour “ was immediately committed to prison. He
 prendre la “ had about him ninety-seven gold pieces ; a
 route de “ gold chain, weighing about twenty crowns,
Zurich, & “ and six gold rings. It was reported, † in
 qu’il se te- “ *Switzerland*, that *SERVEtus* went to
 noit caché “ church, and was from thence carried to
 à *Geneve*, “ prison : But ’tis certain, by his own con-
 afin de “ fession, that he did not appear any where
 s’en pou- “ in publick, for fear of being discovered.
 voir aller “
 fans estre “
 reconnu ; “
 i. e. He “
 tells his

judges, that he had before spoke to his hostess, upon his first coming there, to get him a boat that should carry him up the lake, as high as possible, in the way to Zurich, and that he kept himself incognito at Geneva, that he might get thither without being discovered. Bibliothèque Angloise, ibid.

† This circumstance is to be found in a book entituled, *Contra libellum CALVINI*, in quo ostendere conatur, hereticos jure gladii coercendos esse ; i. e. *An answer to CALVIN’s book, in which CALVIN attempts to shew, that hereticks are to be forced by the power of the sword. That book was printed in Switzerland, in the year 1554, and re-printed in Holland in the year 1612, in 12mo. I make use of this last edition, Numb. 61.*

‡ Bib. Ang. It is surprizing (says that judicious ‡ author
 vol. II. in his *Bibliothèque Angloise*) that *SERVEtus*
 p. 110. should

should go by the way of *Geneva*. He knew that CALVIN was his great enemy ; he knew he had been apprehended in *France* by the intrigues of that reformer : He could not be ignorant that CALVIN had a great authority at *Geneva*, &c. It is very difficult to justify Dr. SERVETUS from being guilty of great imprudence. I shall only observe, that he designed to make no stay at *Geneva*, that he might very well hope he should not be discovered in so short a time ; and that in all probability, he did not think he should be prosecuted in that city, for a book which he had printed in *France*.

Upon these incidents, I can hardly forbear giving vent to some such reflections as these ; That the rigid Calvinists will, (in imitation of their master) from whom they take their name, say, that SERVETUS, so great an heretick, and one that was self-condemned, *doxoradnel*Ⓞ, was judicially blinded, it must be an infatuation from the just hand of GOD ; and no doubt it was pre-determined, that he should be thus surprized, and that we ought to admire and adore the wisdom and goodness of providence, in taking care, after such a signal manner, of the security of his church, against the pernicious and soul-destroying errors of such an an heretick. But not to entertain the reader's mind with such wild, enthusiastick notions of GOD and his governance, I add my wishes to those of the learned gentleman I quote ; when he says, It were wished, that CALVIN had caused that heretick to be apprehended ; not in order to get him prosecuted and condemned to death, but to reclaim him from his heresy.

M 2

“ As

“ As that illustrious reformer was a man of
 “ great parts, so he might have made an ex-
 “ cellent discourse in the presence of *SERVETUS*,
 “ and of all the magistrates of *Geneva* :
 “ He might have represented to that physician,
 “ that the doctrine of the Trinity was not a
 “ popish doctrine, as he pretended, but the
 “ common opinion of all christian churches;
 “ that a mystery ought not to be rejected,
 “ merely because it is incomprehensible ; that
 “ we believe many things in nature, tho’ they
 “ are above the reach of human reason ; that
 “ his own system was extreamly obscure, and
 “ almost unintelligible ; that he was very
 “ much to blame for using many unbecoming
 “ expressions, which no body can justify ;
 “ that he was transported with violent and
 “ indiscreet zeal ; that he ought to esteem it
 “ a very great happiness, that he was not per-
 “ mitted to fall a sacrifice to the fury of men,
 “ drunk with the blood of the martyrs ; that
 “ for his own part he blessed *GOD* for his de-
 “ liverance, hoping it would be a warning to
 “ him, and a powerful means to reclaim him
 “ from his errors ; that he was glad to see
 “ him in a protestant city, among those chri-
 “ stians, who do not desire the death of an
 “ heretick, but rather that he should be con-
 “ verted and live, &c. &c. I should be won-
 “ derfully pleased to find a discourse of this
 “ nature among the works of that great man.

But instead of such a christian application,
 the very reverse appears in all *CALVIN*’s
 writings that relate to *Dr. SERVETUS* : No-
 thing but bitter invectives, hard names, false
 insinuations, ungoverned passion, and invete-
 rate

rate rancor, could this learned physician meet withal from the great CALVIN.

“ It being requisite that some body should
 “ prosecute SERVETUS, in order to bring
 “ him to his trial, one NICOLAS de la FON-
 “ TAINE, born at *St. Gervais*, in that part
 “ of the isle of *France* called the *Vexin Fran-*
 “ *çois*, * set up for his accuser, and prosecuted * CALVIN
 “ him in his own name; it appears then that *confesses*
 “ he was all along directed by CALVIN. I can *that he*
 “ hardly believe that he was CALVIN’s cook, *himself pro-*
 “ as it is affirmed in the book † which I have *cured this*
 “ quoted; which says, ‘ Whether CALVIN’S *accuser as*
 “ cook was capable of giving any judgement *above. Re-*
 “ of SERVETUS’S errors about the Trinity, *furatio er-*
 “ about the doctrine of fate, and about the most *rorum MI-*
 “ obscure questions of that kind, (in the discus- *CHAE LIS*
 “ sion of which, the church hath been for so *SERVE-*
 “ many ages hitherto fatigued) and should throw *T I, p. 827.*
 “ the first stone at him; or whether he ought *Fateor, &*
 “ not to be liable to the same punishment as a *præ me*
 “ false witness, is left to the judgement of those, *fero ex me*
 “ who were acquainted with the ignorance of *prodiisse*
 “ the man. Again, whether it is not very in- *accusato-*
 “ consistent with the character of a pastor of *rem. I*
 “ a church of CHRIST, to entice a servant *profess, be-*
 “ that belongs to his kitchen, to act the part *fore all the*
 “ of † An CAL- *world, that*
 “ of VINI co- *I engaged*
 “ quus potu- *one to be*
 “ *his accuser.*
 “ † An CAL-
 “ of VINI co-
 “ quus potu-

erit de SERVETI erroribus circa Trinitatem, & fatum, & ejus generis obscurissimas quæstiones (in quibus tot jam seculis sudavit ecclesia) judicare, & primus lapidem jacere, aut ut falsus testis eodem supplicio affici, iis judicandum relinquo, qui norunt hominis ignorantiam, item an pastori licuerit, ex culina sua accusatorem rei capitis depromere, judicent ii qui apostolorum mores ingeniumque norunt, coquus ille non est accusator, sed muta persona, & accusatoris larva, ut ea deceptus magistratus pateretur verum accusatorem CALVINUM totam SERVETI causam agere; id quod ei non liquisset, si secundum urbis legem fuisset ipsemet in vinculis. Contra libellum CALVINI, &c. Numb. 131.

' of an accuser in a capital crime ; let them
 ' judge, who know the manners and disposi-
 ' tion of the apostles ? But that cook was not
 ' his real accuser, only one that personated an
 ' accuser ; that the magistracy, being imposed
 ' upon by that falacy, might suffer CALVIN,
 ' who was the real accuser, to carry on the
 ' whole cause against SERVETUS ; a piece of
 ' conduct, which CALVIN would have cen-
 ' sured as unjust, according to the laws of
 ' the city, had he been himself in prison.
 " I rather think he was a poor scholar,
 " and a kind of a domestick servant to him.
 " SERVETUS says positively, in one of his
 " petitions to the magistrates of *Geneva*, as
 " we shall see hereafter, that CALVIN was
 " his master.

" In order to give an account of SERVE-
 " TUS's tryal, I shall mention the most re-
 " markable things that happened every time
 " he appeared before his judges : This seems
 " to me the most methodical way, and most
 " likely to satisfy the curiosity of my rea-
 " ders *.

* Biblio.
 Angloise,
 vol. II.
 p. 113.

" The prisoner was brought to the bar, the
 " first time, on the 14th of *August* ; LA FON-
 " TAINE demanded that he should answer
 " thirty-eight interrogatories : Most of those
 " interrogatories concern his opinions ; and
 " therefore I need not dwell upon them ; be-
 " sides, I shall elsewhere give an account of
 " the propositions, for which he was com-
 " mitted to the flames. SERVETUS con-
 " fessed, that he had published in *Germany*,
 " a book entitled, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*. He
 " also confessed, that he was the author of
 " the *Christianismi Restitutio*. He acknow-
 " ledged,

“ ledged, that he had writ some annotations
 “ on the bible, mentioned before, and upon
 “ PTOLEMY’s geography.

The thirty-seventh interrogatory was expressed in these words: “ * Likewise, that *
 “ in the person of Mr. CALVIN, minister of
 “ the word of GOD in this church of Geneva,
 “ he had defamed in a printed book, the doctrine that is preached, uttering all the injurious and blasphemous words that can be invented.

Item
 qu’en la
 personne
 de Monsieur CALVIN, ministre de la parole de DIEU

en cette eglise de Geneve, il a difamé par livre imprimé la doctrine qui se prêche, prononçant toutes les injures, & blasphemes qu’il est possible d’inventer.

† SERVETUS’s answer to that interrogatory, was, “ That Mr. CALVIN did abuse
 “ him before in several printed books, and
 “ that he answered him (in the same manner)
 “ and shewed that he was in the wrong in some
 “ passages; and that when the said CALVIN
 “ writ to him, that he was of opinion, that
 “ he writ the same in his turn, and that the
 “ said CALVIN was mistaken in a great many
 “ points.

† Voici la
 réponse
 de SERVET
 à cet interrogatoire.
 respond
 que Monsieur CALVIN l’par
 devant injurié par
 beaucoup
 de livres

imprimés, & qu’il lui a respondre, & montrant que CALVIN erroit en quelques passages; & ledit CALVIN quant il escripvoit qu’il estoit d’opinion, il lui rescripvoit le semblable, & que ledit CALVIN erroit eu beaucoup de passages. Bibliothèque Angloise, vol. II. p. 114.

It looks very strange, that such passages as these should make any part of an indictment in a capital cause; what could not a Spaniard, a German, or a Polonian, that had happened to have writ any thing contrary to the tenets preached in Geneva, take up his lodging for a night

night or two in that city, but he must be presently apprehended? No, not if it be *SERVETUS*, and that *SERVETUS* too, who, *in the person of Mr. CALVIN*, minister of the word of *GOD* in the church of *Geneva*, had, in a printed book, defamed that doctrine that is preached: Alas! *SERVETUS* had irritated that great man too much; and pope *CALVIN* was resolved to have his blood, even tho' he was conscious to himself, that he had treated *SERVETUS* as rudely as *SERVETUS* had done him; nay, that he had given the first provocation that way.

“ When *SERVETUS* had answered the
 “ thirty-eight interrogatories, *LA FONTAINE*
 “ (his accuser) produced against him a manu-
 “ script and a printed book. The prisoner
 “ confessed that he was the author of both,
 “ and that he had published the printed book;
 “ but he said the manuscript had not been
 “ printed, and that he had only sent it to
 “ *CALVIN* about six years before, as has
 “ been already observed, to have his judge-
 “ ment about it. *LA FONTAINE* produced
 “ again a printed copy of *PTOLEMY*, with
 “ notes, and a *Latin* bible with several anno-
 “ tations. *SERVETUS* confessed that he was
 “ the author of the notes upon *PTOLEMY*,
 “ and that he had writ some of those anno-
 “ tations upon the bible. Afterwards *LA*
 “ *FONTAINE* made himself a prisoner, the
 “ better to convince the judges, that he was
 “ able to prove his accusation. *SERVETUS*
 “ declared, that he had delivered to the goaler
 “ the ninety-seven gold pieces, the gold chain,
 “ and the rings above-mentioned.

The next day (*August 15.*) SERVETUS was brought a second time to the bar, and answered again the same thirty-eight interrogatories. * ‘ Upon the fourth he said, that * Sur le
 ‘ Mr. CALVIN did so violently persecute him, quatrième
 ‘ that he narrowly escaped being burnt alive il dit que
 ‘ by his means. SERVETUS’s answer to the Monsieur
 ‘ thirty seventh head of accusation, was, CALVIN
 ‘ † That CALVIN abused him first, at several tellement
 ‘ times, and afterwards in printed books ; poursuivi,
 ‘ and that what he had writ to him in his own qu’il n’a-
 ‘ vindication, was not with an intent to abuse voit pas
 ‘ him, but to shew him his mistake and errors, tenu à luy,
 ‘ as he engages to do in a full congrega- qu’il n’eut-
 ‘ tion, by solid arguments, and by the autho- été brûlé
 ‘ rities of the holy scripture. tout vif.
 † Sur le
 37. re-
 spond. que

CALVIN par devant le premier l’a injurié & plusieurs fois, & par livres conséquemment imprimés, & que ce qu’il luy a escript maintenant pour sa defence, n’a point esté à intention de l’injurier, mais pour luy monstrier ses erreurs & fautes, comme il se offre de luy monstrier en pleine congregation par saines raisons & autorites de la sancte escriture. Bibliothèque Angloise ; vol. II. p. 116.

SERVETUS having answered all the articles, the judges came to this resolution, That because he appeared to be very guilty, LA FONTAINE should be released upon promise of going on with his prosecution. I must observe, that SERVETUS confels’d some of those articles, and denied the rest, as he did the day before.

“ The next day (*August 16.*) the prisoner
 “ was brought again to the bar ; LA FON-
 “ TAINÉ came in with another person, named
 “ GERMAIN COLLADON ; and upon the
 “ third article, produced again a copy of
 “ PTOLEMY, and the notes inserted by the
 N “ author,

“ author, at the end of his description of P A-
 “ LESTINE, of which I shall speak hereafter.
 “ Some passages also were produced out of
 “ SERVETUS's works, to convict him of the
 “ heresies charged upon him ; but they went
 “ no farther than the eleventh article, and the
 “ court adjourned the continuance of their
 “ proceedings to the next day. In the mean
 “ time LA FONTAINE presented a petition
 “ to the judges : I shall set down the begin-
 “ ning of it.

* Par de-
 vant vous,
 magnifi-
 ques, puis-
 sants, &
 très re-
 doutés
 seigneurs,
 propose
 NICOLAS
 de la FON-
 TAINÉ,
 s'estant
 constitué
 prisonnier

en cause criminelle, contre MICHEL SERVET pour les grands
 scandales, & troubles, que ledit SERVET a déjà fait par l'espace
 de 24 ans ou environ en la chrestienté, pour les blasphemes qu'il a
 prononcé & escript contre DIEU, pour les heresies dont il a in-
 fecté le monde, pour les meschantes calomnies & faulces diffama-
 tions qu'il a publié contre les grands serviteurs de DIEU, & no-
 tamment contre Monsieur CALVIN, duquel ledit proposant est
 tenu de maintenir l'honneur comme de son pasteur, s'il — veult
 être tenu pour chrestien, & aussi à cause du blasme & deshonneur,
 qui pourroit avenir à l'église de Geneve, pource que ledit SERVET
 condamne par especial la doctrine qu'on y presche, &c. Biblio-
 theque Angloise, p. 117, 118.

† C'est une expression absurde ; car SERVET n'étoit point athée.
 Bibli. Ang. Ibid.

* Magnificent, mighty, and most dread-
 ful lords, NICHOLAS de la FONTAINE,
 humbly sheweth, That having made himself
 a prisoner in a criminal cause, against MI-
 CHAEL SERVETUS, for the great scandals
 and troubles occasioned in christendom by the
 said SERVETUS, during the space of twenty-
 four years, or thereabouts, for the blasphe-
 mies uttered and published by him against
 GOD. † *This is a very absurd expression, for*
 SERVETUS was no atheist.

“ St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN calls SA-
 “ BELLIVS an atheist, because he did not be-
 “ lieve a Trinity. Upon which I observe, that

it is too common for men even of distinguished character, tho' it is a very great error, in the heat of controversy, to give odious names one to another.

SERVETUS himself was resolved to be even with the Trinitarians; for he calls them, in his turn, *atheists*. 'For the heresies wherewith he has infected the world, for the wicked calumnies and defamations he has published against the eminent servants of GOD, especially against Mr. CALVIN, whose honour the said petitioner is bound to maintain, as of one who is his pastor, if he is willing to be accounted a christian; and also by reason of the dishonour that might accrue from it to the church of Geneva, forasmuch as the said SERVETUS does particularly condemn the doctrine that is preached in it, &c.

"In the remaining part of that petition, the accuser beseeches the judges to compel SERVETUS to make a formal answer to each article produced against him, without any shift; and that after he has been convicted of publishing and teaching the heresies contained in the interrogatories, if they judge him to be guilty, and to deserve to be prosecuted by their attorney, they would be pleased to make a declaration of it, and to clear him from all damages and expences, according to custom. This petition of DE LA FONTAINE's was attended, with the thirty-eight articles before-mentioned.

"The next day, being the 17th of August, SERVETUS made his appearance in court again, where proof was to be made against him, that he had abused CALVIN, and and some other divines of Geneva." For in reality, this was Dr. SERVETUS's heresy and
 N 2 blasphemy;

blasphemy ; the abuse of the great CALVIN, and his colleagues. For CALVIN, as before, said, that he might have been saved, *solâ modestiâ*, by *his modesty alone*, p. 48.

“ That SERVETUS had therefore very much abused CALVIN, and some other divines of Geneva : LA FONTAINE, and COLLADON, exhibited the two letters of OECOLAMPADIUS, and two passages of MELANCHTHON, to prove the first article, importing, that SERVETUS had been condemned in Germany, and the first passage of MALANCHTHON runs thus.

* Lusit
homophan-
aticus
SERVETUS
de voca-
bulo per-
sonæ &
disputat
olim la-
tinis signi-
ficasse ha-
bitum aut
officii di-
stinctio-
nem ut
dicimus
ROSCIUM
alias susti-

“ * That fanatick, SERVETUS, plays with the word *persona*, and contends, that antiently among the *Latins* it was wont to signify the habit or distinction of some office ; as much as to say, that at one time ROSCIUS personated ACHILLES, at another, ULYSSES ; or that the same man is one time a consul, and another a servant, as CICERO expresses himself. It is of the greatest importance, in the commonwealth, for a prince to keep his rank : And SERVETUS villainously wrests this old signification of the word, to explain the article of three persons in the divinity.

nere personam ACHILLIS alias sustinere personam ULYSSIS ; seu alia est persona consulis, alia servi, ut CICERO inquit, magnum est in republica tueri personam principis. Et hanc veterem significationem vocabuli sycophanticè detorquet ad articulum de tribus personis divini ætis. MELANC. loc. Theo. p. 231. Cor. doc. CHRIST. Leipf. 1650.

† Ibid.
p. 327.

“ In the second passage † MELANCHTHON calls SERVETUS, *astutus & impius ; a sly and impious fellow*. The prisoner acknowledged that OECOLAMPADIUS and MELANCHTHON

" LANCHTHON had writ against him ; and
 " added, that *it was not a definitive sentence.*

Upon the third article, the two accusers
 produced again PTOLEMY's geography, and
 a passage out of SERVETUS's * preface, * Prola-
 ' wherein he says, that the fruitfulness of tum est
 ' Judea has been wrongly cry'd up, since those, geogra-
 ' who travelled in it, tell us, that it is a barren phia: PTO-
 ' and poor country. When PTOLEMY's geo- LOMÆI
 ' graphy, says CALVIN, published with SER- volumen,
 ' VETUS's preface, was produced, in which cum ejus
 ' his readers are apprized, that it was down- præfatione
 ' right vanity to ascribe such great plenty to editum,
 ' Judea ; because, by the report of merchants, ubi mo-
 ' who have travelled thither, they found it in- nentur le-
 ' cultivated, barren, and destitute of all man- ctiores, vel
 ' ner of pleasantness; he fell a mumbling, and pura ja-
 ' reply'd, that this was written by another stantia
 ' hand. tantam
 bonitatem
 Judæa fu-
 isse adscri-
 ptam: quia
 experien-

tia mercatorum hanc incultam, sterilem, omni dulcedine ca-
 rentem depromit. Quum initio obmurmuraret, hoc ab alio scri-
 ptum esse : tam frigidum cavillum refellere promptum fuit.
 Nam hoc modo, deprehensus fuerat manifestus impostor. Ergo
 redactus in illas angustias, rectè scriptum esse defendit, rogatus-
 deinde quisnam vanus ille præco Judææ fuisset præter MOYSEN ?
 Quasi alii, inquit, non scripserint de Judæa. Hic quod necesse
 erat excepi. Certe ut alii cum MOYSE consentiant, quia ta-
 men omnium vetustissimus, subscribunt ejus elogiis. Quare penes
 eum præcipua erit ejus culpa, qui mentiendo posteros fefellit.
 Cujus enim est illud ; terram fluere lacte & melle ? Adjeci præ-
 terea, inconsideratè ex præsentì terræ statu fieri judicium ; quia me-
 moria tenendum sit horribile DEI judicium, quod olim minatus fue-
 rat peculiariter Judæis & quod in genere describitur ; *Psal.* cvij.
 DEUM esse, qui fœcundis, opimisque regionibus, quasi sale semi-
 nato, ob hominum peccata sterilitatem inducit. Judæam itaque
 hodie nobis illustre esse divinx maledictionis speculum. Dicam quod
 videri posset incredibile, nisi clarissimus senatus noster unà cum multis
 gravibus viris locuples esset testis ; ubi ita convicta tenebatur impie-
 tas, obscærus canis tantum os perfricuit, & dixit uno verbo, nihil
 illic esse mali. Et quum nulla illi in mentem fucata excusatio, nulla
 tamen ingenua confessio exprimi potuit. *Expos. Erro. MICHAEL SERV.*
Cal. Theo. Tract. Gen. ed. 1576. p. 136.

' hand. Such a sorry pretence was soon
 ' baffled; for by his shuffling after this man-
 ' ner, the impostor appeared bare-faced; and
 ' being reduced to his last shifts, he then
 ' maintained, that the remark was just. Upon
 ' this being asked, who that vain panegyrist
 ' upon *Judea* should be, if it was not *MOSES*?
 ' He replied, as if no body else had given
 ' the history of *Judea* but he. Here I thought
 ' it necessary to make this answer, that those
 ' who had given an account of that country,
 ' followed *MOSES*, the most antient writer
 ' that mentions it; wherefore it was a very
 ' great fault in him to deceive those who fol-
 ' lowed him in that peculiar; for whose ac-
 ' count was that, that *Judea* was a land flow-
 ' ing with milk and honey? Besides, I urged
 ' further, that it was preposterous to form a
 ' judgement of what that land was antiently,
 ' from what it appears to be now; for we
 ' ought to remember that dreadful judgment
 ' of *GOD*, which he had threatned *Judea*
 ' withal, in a particular manner, and that
 ' which is in general described in *Psalm* cvij.
 ' That it is *GOD* who turneth a fruitful land
 ' into barrenness, for the wickedness of them
 ' that dwell therein, is particularly verified in
 ' *Judea*, which to this day is a signal mirrour of
 ' divine vengeance. Upon this, *CALVIN* having
 ' work'd him self up into a violent passion, expresses
 ' himself after this manner. ' It would appear ut-
 ' terly incredible, were it not that our illu-
 ' strious senate, together with many other
 ' grave men, were witnesses of it; that when
 ' he stood so plainly convicted of this his im-
 ' piety, that he had nothing to alledge in his
 ' vindication.

vindication. That obscene dog, with the utmost impudence, asserted, in one word, that there was no harm in what he had said.

* Upon the third article they produce that place of PTOLEMY's geography, which SERVETUS says he had no hand in, and that nevertheless there was nothing of evil in it, and that he did not intend the time of MOSES, but the modern writers of our country; whereas they urged, that forasmuch as the passage comprised all who have writ about that country in general, it was a calumnious reflection upon MOSES: let the readers judge of the force of this argument, says the author of the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, vol. II. p. 120.

Sur le tiers (article) (says the Bibliothèque Angloise, vol. II. p. 120.) ils ont produit le lieu de PTOLEMÉE, lequel le dit SERVETUS dit n'avoir fait, &

& nonob-

stant qu'il n'y a point de mal, & qu'il n'entend point du temps de MOYSE, mais du temps de ceulx, qui ont escrit de nostre siècle; & lesdits disent que d'autant qu'il a compris généralement tous écrivains dudit pais, qu'il a calomnié contre MOYSE. Les lecteurs jugeront de la force de cet argument.

Tho' I never saw, says the same author ‡, that edition of PTOLEMY's geography, to which SERVETUS added a preface, and some notes; I dare say he did not reflect upon MOSES. It is not improbable, that by the words *vanus præco Judæa*, he meant some modern traveller, who had published an account of the *Holy Land*, and represented it as a very fruitful country. SERVETUS was neither an atheist nor a deist; he was fully persuaded of the truth of the old testament, as it appears from his writings, and therefore I cannot imagine that the words just mentioned concern MOSES. I shall here

‡ Il répondit, comme s'il n'y avoit que MOYSE, qui eut parlé de la Judée. Ibid.

take

take the liberty to insert the digression that the author of the *Bibliotèque* himself makes, and for the very same reason.

' *Palestine* (says he) is not now, properly speaking, a more barren country than it was in former times; were it improved and cultivated, it would doubtless be as fruitful as it was in the time of the *Israelites*; and therefore CALVIN went upon a wrong supposition, when he told SERVETUS, in a peremptory manner, that GOD had cursed the holy land, and made it barren for the sins of the *Jews*. Mr. MAUNDRELL, late fellow of *Exeter* college at *Oxford*, who travelled in that country, does not ascribe its barrenness to a divine punishment, but to want of culture.' The passage being very curious it is inserted here at length.

' All along this day's travel, from *Kane-Leban* to *Beer* (says Mr. MAUNDRELL*) and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before, presenting nothing to the view in most places but naked rocks, mountains and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished, and baulked in their expectations, finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas from the description given of it

* Voyage d' Alep. à Jerusalem, en 1697, traduit de l' Anglois, à Utrecht, en 1705, & se trouve chez la veuve de P. MARRET à Amsterdam. Voyez

p. 107, 110. *Bibliotique*, p. 122. i. e. *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, in the year 1697, translated into English at Utrecht; and sold, says the author of the Bibliot. by P. MARRET's widow at Amsterdam. See p. 107, 110. The same author, in his memoirs of literature, quotes the Oxford edit. 1707, p. 64, & seq. 2d edit. whose English I choose to transcribe; vol. IV. memoirs, p. 229.*

‘ it in the word of God; insomuch that it
‘ almost startles their faith, when they reflect,
‘ how it could be possible, for a land like this;
‘ to supply food for so prodigious a number of
‘ inhabitants, as are said to have been polled
‘ in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum
‘ given in by *Joab*, 2 *Sam.* xxiv. amounting to
‘ no less than thirteen hundred thousand fight-
‘ ing men, besides women and children. But
‘ it is certain, that any man who is not a little
‘ biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he
‘ passes along, arguments enough to support
‘ his faith against such scruples.

‘ For it is obvious for any one to observe,
‘ that these rocks and hills must have been an-
‘ tiently covered with earth, and cultivated,
‘ and made to contribute to the maintenance
‘ of the inhabitants, no less than if the coun-
‘ try had been all plain, nay perhaps much
‘ more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and
‘ uneven surface affords a larger space of
‘ ground for cultivation, than this country
‘ would amount to, if it were all reduced to
‘ a perfect level.

‘ For the husbanding of these mountains,
‘ their manner was to gather up the stones,
‘ and place them in several lines, along the
‘ sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By
‘ such borders they supported the mould from
‘ tumbling, or being washed down, and form-
‘ ed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradu-
‘ ally, one with another, from the bottom to
‘ the top of the mountains.

‘ Of this form of culture, you see evident
‘ footsteps wherever you go in all the moun-
‘ tains of *Palestine*. Thus the very rocks were
‘ made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot

' of ground in this whole land, that was not
 ' formerly improved to the production of
 ' something or other, ministring to the suste-
 ' nance of humane life. For than the plain
 ' countries nothing can be more fruitful, whe-
 ' ther for the production of corn or cattle,
 ' and consequently of milk. The hills, tho'
 ' improper for all cattle, except goats; yet
 ' being disposed into such beds as are afore
 ' described, served very well to bear corn,
 ' melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like
 ' garden stuff; which makes the principal
 ' food of these countries for several months
 ' in the year. The most rocky parts of all,
 ' which could not well be adjusted in that
 ' manner for the production of corn, might
 ' yet serve for the planting of vines and olive-
 ' trees, which delight to extract the one its
 ' fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly
 ' out of such dry and flinty places. And the
 ' great plain joyning to the dead sea, which
 ' by reason of its saltness, might be thought
 ' unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives
 ' and vines, had yet its proper usefulness for
 ' the nourishment of bees, and for the fabrick
 ' of honey; of which JOSEPHUS gives us
 ' his testimony, *de Bell. Jud.* and I have rea-
 ' son to believe it; because, when I was there,
 ' I perceived in many places, a smell of honey
 ' and wax, as strong as if one had been in an
 ' apiary. Why then might not this country
 ' very well maintain the vast number of its in-
 ' habitants, being in every part so productive
 ' of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey,
 ' which are the principal food of these eastern
 ' nations? The constitution of their bodies,
 ' and the nature of their clime, inclining
 ' them

‘ them to more abstemious diet than we
 ‘ use in *England*, and other colder regions.

‘ The author of the *Bibliothèque* adds, * Mr. * Mr. R E-
 ‘ R E L A N D has given us natural reasons of L A N D
 ‘ the barrenness of *Palestine*; what he says donne
 ‘ upon that now, and upon the fruitfulness of aussi des
 ‘ *Judea* in antient times, is as full of judge- raisons na-
 ‘ ment as it is of learning: That learned au- turelles de
 ‘ thor has sufficiently answered the objections de la Pa-
 ‘ of the incredulous, founded on the sterility lestine. Ce
 ‘ of the holy land; and I observe, that he qu’il dit
 ‘ refutes the wits of the age with a great deal sur cela,
 ‘ of good manners; and we ought to pay a & sur la
 ‘ particular respect to those gentlemen, whose fertilité de
 ‘ learning has this christian virtue for its com- la Judée
 ‘ panion †. dans les
 anciens
 tems, n’est
 pas moins

judicieux, que rempli d’erudition. Ce savant auteur a très-bien ré-
 pondu à l’objection de incredules fondée sur la sterilité de la terre
 sainte. J’ai remarqué qu’il réfute les esprits forts avec beaucoup de
 politesse. On doit avoir une estime particuliere pour les personnes,
 dont le savoir est accompagné de cette vertu chrétienne, vol. II.
 p. 126.

† Voyez l’ouvrage de Mr. R E L A N D intitulé *Palestina*, ex mo-
 numentis veteribus illustrata. Dans le dernier chapitre du premier
 livre. *Trajecti Batavorum*, 1714.

See Mr. R E L A N D’s treatise, entitled, *Palestine illustrated from the
 monuments of antiquity; in the last chapter of his first book. Printed at
 Utrecht, 1714.*

‘ But to return to SERVETUS. On the
 ‘ same day † they produced against him his † Et quant
 ‘ notes aux anno-
 tations de

la bible, ils ont produit le vij & viij chap. d’ *Esaie*, & le liij d’ *Esaie*,
 auquel dernier passage ils disent ledit SERVET avoir attribué a
 C Y R U S ce qui est attribué à J E S U S C H R I S T quant à l’effacement
 de nos pechés & portement de nos iniquités. A quoi ledit SERVET
 répond que le principal doibt être entendu de J E S U S C H R I S T;
 mais quant à l’historie, & à lettre, il faut prendre de C Y R U S; &
 que les anciens docteurs ont mis deux sens en l’ancien testament,
 assavoir sens literal & sens mystique, &c. *Biblio. Angl.* vol. II.
 p. 126.

notes upon the vijth and viijth chapters of *Isaiah*; particularly those he had made upon the liijd chapter of that prophet, which he understood in a literal sense of *CYRUS*, who (said he) died for the sins of the *Jews*; adding, that the mystical sense concerned *JESUS CHRIST*, who is principally meant in that chapter; and that the antient doctors have put two senses upon the Old Testament, viz. the one the literal, and the other the mystical.

After *CALVIN* had said that *SERVEtus* had corrupted the bible, he was hired to correct at *Lyons*, partly with impertinent and trifling, and partly with impiously whimsical notes of his own, throughout every page; he adds, * Since it would have been endless to have examined all these notes of *SERVE-*
TUS;

¶ Quia
singulis
excution-
dis tempus
non daba-

tur: In primis objectum est caput *Isaia* liij. cujus perspicuitas quum *Judeis* quamlibet impudentibus ansam calumniandi præciderit, hic falsarius ausus est ad *CYRUM* torquere. Ita quod de unico sacrificio, partaque in eo expiatione æterna, de mundi cum *DEO* reconciliatione, de gratuita fidei justitia clarissimè propheta dissevit, imò sonora voce prædicat, delevit hic perfidus nebulo. Nam his prophetæ verbis, verè languores nostros ipse tulit, dolores nostros ipse portavit; vulneratus est propter transgressionem nostras, afflictus est propter peccata nostra: Castigatio pacis nostræ super eum, & livor ejus fuit nobis sanitas: Commentum *SERVEto* dignum assuit; defleri *CYRUM* qui exigentibus populi peccatis mortuus erat. Subjicit quidem, christum adumbrari in quem solum propriè hæc omnia competunt; sed interim nullum nobis pro peccatis satisfactionem, nullum propitiandi *DEI* remedium, nullam purgationem reliquam facit. Verum certè esse quod tunc illi objeci, mihi omnes concedent, quod nullo autore fretus insignem hanc prophetiam tam nequitè corripuerit; non aliunde esse factum, nisi quia vāsanam & furialem ex fidei interitu voluptatem capiens, omnis verecundiæ oblitus, summum dedecus in se suscipere maluerat, quam non omnia pervertere. Omitto quod quum *NICOLAI LYRANI* suffragium obtenderet, producto libro mendacii convictus non erubuit, fuit enim

enim hoc illi solenne : Scripto res quorum nunquam libros inspexerat, audacissime citare. Cujus rei jocosum, & risu dignum specimen in JUSTINO MARTYRE exhibitum fuit. Nam quia magnifice jactabat, aureo ejus seculo incognitas fuisse de Trinitate & personis fabulas ; Codicem statim afferri jussi & digito monstravi certos locos, in quibus sanctus vir non minus aperte fidem nostram asseribat, quam si rogatu nostro scripsisset. Atqui Græcum sermonem nihilo magis legere quam alphabetarius potuit. Tum se turpiter comprehensum videns, stomachose Latinam translationem sibi dari petiit. Quid hoc rei est ? Dixi quum nulla extet Latina translatio, Græci legere nescias, tamen in JUSTINI lectione familiariter te versatum esse fingis. Unde igitur tibi illa testimonia, quibus citandis adeo liberaliter tibi indulges ? Ille, ut solebat, ferrea fronte aliò transiliens nullum vel minimæ verecundiæ signum dedit. Verum ut duritiem illam omittam ; quum palàm fieret, præcipuum salutis nostra caput, de expiatis CHRISTI morte hominum peccatis, diabolica ejus fraude ex *Isaia* libro esse deletum, nullo pænitiæ sensu tangi, hoc prodigiosam cujusdam malitiæ signum est. Nec verò dubito quin sicuti mihi ita bonis omnibus interior, & deliberata diuque concocta impietas in eo se proferat, dum ex rerum omnium confusione quasi gratuita voluptas capitur.

TUS ; those upon the lijd of *Isaiah* were principally objected to him, tho' the clearness of the passages in that chapter should have cut off all pretensions from the impudent *Jews*, of calumniating christianity ; yet this impostor has dared to give such a wrong turn to them, as to interpret them of CYRUS : So that whatever the prophet has, with great perspicuity, and with the utmost force of expression, discoursed concerning the one only sacrifice, the eternal expiation procured by it, the reconciliation of the world to GOD, and gratuitous righteousness by faith, this perfidious villain has blotted out. For to these words of the prophet ; surely he has born our griefs, and carried our sorrows ; he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities ; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and

' and with his stripes we are healed, he hath
 ' racked a comment worthy of SERVETUS, *viz.*
 ' That the prophet bewails the death of CY-
 ' RUS, which was owing to the sins of the
 ' people. SERVETUS adds after indeed,
 ' that CHRIST was shadowed under these
 ' expressions, to whom alone they properly
 ' agree: But at the same time he mentions
 ' nothing of satisfaction for our sins, of the
 ' remedy by which GOD is rendered propi-
 ' tious to us, or of any expiation left for us.
 ' His vile corruption of this famous prophecy,
 ' could arise from no other spring than the
 ' mad and furious pleasure he takes of destroy-
 ' ing the faith; and being utterly regardless of
 ' all modesty, he would rather take the highest
 ' reproach upon himself, than not to pervert
 ' every thing that has been said by any other
 ' paraphrast. I pass by his maintaining, that
 ' NICOLAS de LYRA had explain'd the same
 ' chapter as he did; and that when upon the
 ' book being produced, he was convicted of a
 ' lye, he did not so much as blush; for 'twas
 ' a common practice with him, with much
 ' assurance, to make quotations out of books,
 ' which he had never looked into; a merry
 ' instance of which turned up about JUSTIN
 ' MARTYR: for since he had boasted very
 ' much, that the fables of the p—f—ns in
 ' the T—i—y were unknown in his golden
 ' age; I ordered his book to be immediately
 ' produced, and plainly shewed him some ex-
 ' press places, wherein that holy man had as
 ' clearly asserted our faith, as if he had wrote
 ' it at our request; but he was no more able
 ' to read the *Greek*, than a boy that has just
 ' begun his alphabet, when he perceived him-
 ' self

self to be thus shamefully caught, he, with great indignation, call'd for a *Latin* translation. What's the meaning of this, said I? There is no *Latin* translation extant; don't you, who pretend to be so conversant with the writings of JUSTIN MARTYR, understand the *Greek* tongue? Whence had you the several quotations you have so often made from him? He, as his custom was, made an impudent digression, without the least sign of shame: And when it was evidently made appear, that that chapter, which principally concerns our salvation, by expiation made for the sins of men, by the death of CHRIST, was rased out of the book of *Isaiah*, by his diabolical fraud, he discovered the monstrous malice of his mind, by his having no manner of remorse upon that account: And I perswade my self, that as his inward, deliberate, and long-digested impiety, manifested its self to me, by the pleasure he took in throwing all things into confusion, so it will to all good men.' Thus was CALVIN much exasperated against SERVETUS, on account of his explication of this place of *Isaiah*, calling it a very impious one. The author of the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, (which this author has likewise examined) saith, that GROTIUS applying that chapter in a literal sense to *Jeremiah*, is not less mistaken than SERVETUS, and yet he did not know that any divine did ever call this explication of that learned man an impious one. * He adds,

* The author of the *Bibliothèque*

says, On trouve dans les commentaires de CALVIN, sur le vieux testament, des explications literales, qui paroîtront à certains theologiens aussi peu orthodoxes que celle de SERVET; i. e. We may meet with in CALVIN's commentaries upon the old testament, those literal explications, which are, in the opinions of some divines, as little orthodox as that of SERVET. Bib. Ang. p. 127.

that CALVIN, upon his shewing SERVETUS, that his quotation of NICOLAS de LYRA was false, said, that SERVETUS boldly quoted several authors, whom he had never read, and that he could not read Greek. I cannot tell whether the first accusation be true ; but I am sure (says he) the second is not well grounded *.

* GROTIUS, qui

applique ce chapitre à *Jeremie*, dans le sens literal, ne se trompe pas moins que SERVET. Je ne sai s'il y ci en aucun theologien, qui ait traité d'impieté l'explication de ce savant homme. SERVET soutint que NICOLAS de LYRA avoit expliqué le même chapitre comme lui on fit apporter le livre de cet auteur, & l'on convainquit SERVET qu'il s'étoit trompé. Là-dessus CALVIN dit que SERVET citoit hardiment des auteurs qu'il n'avoit jamais lus, & qu'il ne savoit pas lire le Grec. Je ne sai si la première accusation est véritable ; mais la seconde ne me paroît pas bien fondée. *Bib. Ang. p. 128.*

† SERVET répondit qu'il n'appelle tritheites, ceux qui croient la Trinité, car il la

croit lui même ; mais il appelle ceux là qui la déguisent autrement qu'elle n'est. C'est assavoir ceux qui mettent distinction réelle en l'essence divine ; que ceux là divisent DIEU, & ostent l'unité de l'essence divine, & il appelle ceux là trinitaires, & atheistes : & qu'en la vraie Trinité il y a distinction personnelle, & non point réelle. *Bib. Ang. p. 128.*

“ The next book produced against the prisoner, was his *Christianismi Restitutio*, particularly from the 22d page, to the 35th and 36th, where he calls the Trinity a dream of St. AUSTIN, and uses several injurious and extravagant expressions, giving those the name of Tritheists, who believe in the Trinity. SERVETUS, in his vindication, answered, † That he did not call those who believed the Trinity, Tritheists, for he himself believed it; but only those who mis-represented it, admitting a real distinction in the divine essence ; that they divided GOD, and destroyed the unity of the

pri-
arti-
and
eam
nju-
ing
eve
di-
call
fts,
ose
real
ney
of
the
ent
en
e l'
en
lle.

P

‘ *dis-*

“SERVETUS declared, on the same day, that his printer had sent several copies of his *Christianismi Restitutio* to Frankfort. Here follows the copy of the letter SERVETUS writ to ABEL PEPIN, about six years before he was committed to prison in that city, as he told his judges the same day. This letter, the author of the *Bibliotèque*, p. 130. says, *Est fort curieuse, & peut servir à faire connoître le caractère de SERVET. Elle n'a jamais été imprimée.* Is very curious, and plainly

‘ discovers the Character of SERVETUS; it was
‘ never printed before.

* Licet
epistola
mea ad

‘ * Although my twelfth epistle to CAL-
‘ VIN makes it very plainly appear, that the
‘ obligation

CALVI-

NUM duodecima vim legis decalogi esse sublatam doceat apertissimè adhuc tamen locum unum adjungam, ut innovationem per adventum CHRISTI factam melius intelligatis. Decalogi igitur legem esse sublatam cognoscetis tu manifestè, si locum unum legas *Jere. xxxj.* Fœdus initum cum patribus quando egrediebantur de *Egypto*, sublatum docet propheta. Hoc autem fuit fœdus decalogi. Dicitur enim, *1 Reg. 8, 9.* quod in arca erat fœdus initum cum patribus in egressu de *Egypto*, scilicet decalogus. Hinc dicebatur arca fœderis, tabulæ fœderis & decem verba fœderis. Hæc autem fuit paciscendi formula. DEUS promittit illos fore sibi populum, si ea verba faciant: Et illi ea verba se facturos recipiunt. Ecce fœdus! Hoc autem fœdus sublatum docet *Jeremias* dicto cap. xxxj. & *Ezechiel* cap. xvj. & *PAULUS*, *Heb. viii.* si eâ lege nos nunc in suos recipiat DEUS, eo jugo pressi similiter periremus & essemus sub maledicto. Sublata est ergo lex illa. Non sub eo fœdere nos nunc in suos recipit DEUS, sed fide solâ JESU CHRISTI FILII dilecti. Aspicite igitur quale sit evangelium vestrum lege confusum. Evangelium vestrum est sine uno DEO, sine fide verâ, sine bonis operibus. Pro uno DEO habetis tricipitem cerberum, pro fide verâ habetis fatale somnium, & opera bona dicitis esse inanes picturas. CHRISTI fides est vobis merus fucus, nihil efficiens: Homo est vobis iners truncus, & DEUS est vobis servi arbitrii chimæra. Regenerationem ex aquâ cœlestem non agnoscitis, sed velut fabulam habetis. Regnum cœlorum clauditis ante homines, ut rem imaginariam a nobis excludendo. Væ vobis, væ, væ. Hac tertia epistola, te ita monitum volo, ut melius cogites, non amplius ita moniturus. Offendit vos forsan quod pugnæ illi MICHAELIS me immisceam & vos immisceri desiderem, sed locum illum diligenter expende, & videbis homines fore, qui ibi pugnabunt, animas suas morti exponendo, in sanguine & testimonio JESU CHRISTI. Angelos vero dici obvium est in scripturis. Annon vides ibi agi de ecclesia CHRISTI jam tot annos fugata? Annon de re futura est divisio, ut ipsemet JOHANNES asserit? Quis est ibi accusator ille, qui ob legum & præceptorum transgressionem nos ante accusabat? Ante pugnam ait fore accusationem illam, & orbis seductionem: Ergo sequitur pugna & tempus prope est, ut ait. Qui sunt illi, qui victoriam reportabunt de bestia? Non accipientes characterem ejus. Mihi ob eam rem moriendum esse certo scio; sed non propterea animo deficior ut siam discipulus similis præceptorum. Hoc doleo quod per

vos

vos non licuit emendare locos aliquot in scriptis meis, quæ sunt apud CALVINUM. Vale, & a me non amplius literas expecta super custodiam meam stabo, contemplabor & videbo quid sit dicturus. Nam veniet, certe veniet & non tartabit.

' obligation of the Decalogue is vacated, yet
' I will add one place more, by which you
' may the better understand the alteration that
' is made by the coming of CHRIST; that
' the law of the Decalogue therefore was
' abrogated, you will thoroughly be convinced
' of, if you read one place in the xxxjst of
' *Jeremiah*, where the prophet teaches us, that
' the covenant that GOD entered into with
' the fathers of the *Jewish* nation, when they
' went out of *Egypt*, was done away. I will
' make a new covenant with the house of
' *Israel*, and the house of *Judah*, not accord-
' ing to the covenant that I made with their
' fathers, in the day that I took them by the
' hand, to bring them out of the land of
' *Egypt*, which, my covenant they brake. This
' was the covenant of the Decalogue ;
' for it is said in 1 *Kings* viij, ix. That there
' were in the ark the two tables of stone which
' *Moses* put there at *Horeb*, when the Lord
' made a covenant with the children of *Israel*,
' when they came out of the land of *Egypt*,
' viz. the covenant of the Decalogue: Hence
' it was called the ark of the covenant, the
' tables of the covenant, and the ten words
' of the covenant. Now this was the form
' of their entring into covenant ; GOD pro-
' mised that the *Jews* should be his people,
' upon condition that they performed these
' words or commands, and they engaged to
' receive GOD for their LORD, and become
' his people, upon this condition of keeping

' these commands. Lo ! this is the covenant.
 ' And JEREMIAH tells us, that this covenant
 ' was put an end to in the afore said chapter ;
 ' and EZEKIEL, in the xvjth chapter ; and
 ' PAUL, in the viijth of the *Hebrews*. If
 ' GOD was to receive us now into his fa-
 ' vour, upon that condition, we should perish
 ' under the same yoke they did, and should
 ' come under the curse. That law therefore
 ' is abrogated. GOD does not now take us
 ' to be his own people, under that covenant,
 ' but by the faith of JESUS CHRIST, his
 ' beloved SON alone. Hence you may per-
 ' ceive how your gospel is confounded with
 ' the law : Your gospel is without the one
 ' GOD, without the true faith, without good
 ' works. For the one GOD, you have a three-
 ' headed *Cerberus* ; for the true faith, you
 ' have a fatal dream ; and as for good works,
 ' you say they are empty pictures ; the faith
 ' of CHRIST, with you, is mere paint,
 ' without any efficacy. Mankind, in your
 ' account, are no more than stupid blocks,
 ' and GOD, in your system, is no other than
 ' a monster of arbitrary fate. Regeneration
 ' by water, which is from heaven, you are so
 ' far from acknowledging, that you look upon
 ' it only as a fable. You shut men out of the
 ' kingdom of heaven, by excluding us from
 ' it, as an imaginary happiness. Woe to
 ' you ; woe, woe ! I would fain have you
 ' so well apprized of your real interest and
 ' duty, by this my third letter, that you may
 ' get a better way of thinking ; especially
 ' since you are not like to have any such ad-
 ' vice from me hereafter. It is perhaps far
 ' from agreeable to you, that I should con-
 ' cern

cern my self with MICHAEL'S war in the
Apocalipse, or that I should desire you to
look into it : But do so much as consider
that passage narrowly, and you will soon
perceive who the men were to be, who
would engage in that quarrel, viz. such as
were resolved to expose their lives to the
death, for the blood and the testimony of
JESUS CHRIST. Nothing is more certain,
than that angels are spoken of in the scri-
ptures. Can any thing be more plain from
thence, than that the church of CHRIST has
been vanquished for many years since? Does
not the vision there relate to futurity, as JOHN
himself asserts? Who is that accuser there,
who is said to accuse us before, because of the
transgression of the laws and precepts? He
saith, that accusation was to be before the
battle, and the time is at hand, as he says.
Who are they who shall get the victory of
the beast, not receiving his character, or
mark upon them? That I must die for the
cause I have espoused, I certainly know ;
but I am not at all cast down upon that ac-
count, since by that, I shall be a disciple,
made like to his master. This indeed I am
really concerned for, that by your means I
cannot have an opportunity of correcting
several places in my writings, which are in
CALVIN'S hands. Adieu ; and don't ex-
pect to receive any more letters from me. I
will stand upon my guard ; I will wait, and
see what the LORD will say unto me ; for
he will come, he will certainly come, and
will not tarry.

“ The

* Bibliot.
vol. II.
p. 133.

" The author of the *Bibliothèque* says, * that
" this letter was not signed, but that SER-
" VETUS acknowledged that he was the au-
" thor of it. He observes, that it contains
" several offensive and extravagant expressions;
" SERVETUS was a great zealot, as most
" hereticks are. Can it be expected, that
" a zealot should keep within the bounds
" of moderation? Besides, it ought to be
" considered, that he lived in an age that was
" not so polite as ours; in an age wherein
" the great CALVIN himself did not scruple
" to call him a *dog*, even in his commentaries
" upon the *bible*. The heterodox writers of
" our own time, have much ado to observe the
" rules of *decorum*; they break out sometimes
" into unbecoming expressions. I really be-
" lieve that SERVETUS expected to suffer
" death for his doctrine some time or other.

† Bibliot.
Ibid.

" † On the 21st of *August*, LA FONTAINE
" and COLLADON exhibited a letter of
" BELTHAZAR ARNOLLET, who printed
" SERVETUS's book, and had been impris-
" oned with him at *Vienne*. That letter was
" written from that city, *July 14, 1553.* to
" one JAMES BERTET, at *Chatillon*. The
" printer acquainted his friend BERTET,
" that he had been deceived by GUEROUT,
" the corrector of SERVETUS's book, who
" concealed from him the errors contained in
" it, tho' he often asked him, whether there
" was any. He desired BERTET to destroy
" those books privately.

" Afterwards CALVIN came in, attended by
" all the ministers of *Geneva*; he undertook
" to prove against SERVETUS, that the an-
" tient fathers, alledged by him, far from
" saying

saying any thing that might countenance
 his opinions, taught a very different do-
 ctrine. That reformer and the prisoner
 had a long dispute about the true sense of
 the words person and *hypostasis*. That dis-
 pute being ended, CALVIN and his at-
 tendants went away; and the judges order-
 ed that SERVETUS should have such books
 as he wanted, bought at his own charges,
 if they were to be found at *Geneva*, or at
Lyons. CALVIN had brought some with
 him, out of which SERVETUS kept TER-
 TULLIAN, St. IRENÆUS, St. IGNATIUS'S
 epistles, and another.

Lastly, it was ordered, that the prisoner
 should have paper and ink to write a peti-
 tion, according to his desire.

Accordingly, the next day, (*August 22.*)
 SERVETUS presented the following peti-
 tion to his judges.

*To my most honoured Lords, the Syndics and Council
 of Geneva.*

MICHAEL SERVETUS humbly sheweth,
 That the prosecution of a man,
 for the doctrine of the scripture, or for any
 question arising from it, is a new invention,
 unknown

I shall make no alteration in the orthography.

*A mes tres honorés Seigneurs Messieurs les Syndics, & Conseil de
 Geneve.*

Supplie humblement MICHEL SERVETUS accusé, mettant en
 fait, que c'est une nouvelle invention, ignorée
 des apostres & disciples & de l'eglise ancienne, de
 faire partie criminelle pour la doctrine de l'ecri-
 ture, ou pour questions procedantes d' icelle. Sela se monstre
 premierement aux *Actes des Apostres*, chapitre xviii & xix. ou tiels
 accu-

*Bibliotiq. Ang.
 vol. II. p. 133.*

"accusateurs font deboutés, & renvoyés aux eglises, quant ni a
 "aultre crime que questions de la religion pareillement du temps
 "de l'empereur CONSTANTIN le grand, où il y avoyt grandes
 "heresies des *arriens* & accusations criminelles, tant du coste de
 "ATHANASIUS, que du costé de ARRIUS, ledict empereur
 "par son conseil & conseil de toutes les eglises, arresta que suy-
 "vant la ancienne doctrine, teles accusations nariont poynt de lieu,
 "voire quand on seroyt un heretique, comme estoyt ARRIUS.
 "Mais que toutes leurs questions seriont decidées par les eglises, &
 "que estila que seroyt convençu, ou condamné par iceles, si, ne se vo-
 "loyt reduire par repentance, seroyt banni. La quiele punition a esté
 "de tout temps observée en l'ancienne eglise contra les heretiques,
 "comme se preuve par mille aultres histoires, & autorités des do-
 "cteurs. Pour quoy, messeigneurs, suyvant la doctrine des apostres
 "& disciples, que ne permirent oncques tieles accusations, & suyvant
 "la doctrine de l'ancienne eglise, en la quiele tieles accusations ne
 "estiont poynt admises, requiert le dict suppliant estre mis dehors de
 "la accusation criminelle.

"Secondement, messeigneurs, vous supplie considerer, que na
 "poynt offensé en vostre terre, ni ailleurs, na poynt esté sedicieux,
 "ni perturbateur. Car les questions que luy traicte, sont difficiles, &
 "seulement dirigées à gens sçavans. Et que de tout le temps que a
 "esté en *alamagne*, na jamais parlé de ces questions, que a OECO-
 "LAMPADIUS, BUCER & CAPITO. Aussi en *France* nen ha ja-
 "mais parlé a home. En oultre que les anabaptistes sedicieux contre
 "les magistrats, & que voliont faire les choses communes, il les a
 "tousjours reprouvé & repreuve. Donc il conclut, que pour avoir
 "sans sedition aucune mises en avant certaines questions des anciens
 "docteurs de l'eglise, que pour sela ne doyt aucunement estre detenu
 "en accusation criminelle.

"Tiercement, messeigneurs, pour ce quil est estanger, & ne sçait
 "les costumes de ce pays, ni comme il fault parler, & proceder en
 "jugement, vous supplie humblement luy doner un procureur, le-
 "quel parle pour luy. Ce fesant, farés bien, & nostre seigneur pro-
 "sperera vostre republique. Faict en vostre cite de *Geneve* le 22 d'août
 "1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS de ville neufve en sa cause propre.

"unknown to the apostles and their disciples,
 "and to the antient church. As it appears,
 "first, from the *Acts of the Apostles*, chap. xvij
 "and xix. where such accusers are cast off,
 "and referred to the churches, when there is
 "no crime in the case, and 'tis only a matter
 "relating

"relating to religion. Likewise in the time
 "of the emperor CONSTANTINE, when
 "there were great heresies, and criminal ac-
 "cusations, both on the part of ATHANA-
 "SIUS and ARIUS, the said emperor with
 "the advice of his council, and of all the
 "churches decreed, That according to the
 "antient doctrine, such accusations should not
 "be admitted, even tho' a man were an here-
 "tick, as ARIUS was; that all their disputes
 "should be determined by the churches, and
 "that a man convicted, or condemned by
 "them, should be banished, unless he re-
 "pent. That punishment was at all times
 "inflicted upon hereticks in the antient church,
 "as may be proved by a thousand other pas-
 "sages and authorities. Wherefore, my Lords,
 "the said petitioner begs, that he may be
 "no longer prosecuted as a criminal, agree-
 "ably to the doctrine of the apostles and their
 "disciples, and of the antient church, who
 "never admitted any such accusation.

"Secondly, My Lords, the petitioner be-
 "seches you to consider, that he has com-
 "mitted no fault in your city, nor any where
 "else; that he has not been a seditious man,
 "nor a disturber of the publick peace; (for
 "the matters treated by him are difficult, and
 "such as can only be understood by learned
 "men) that all the time he was in *Germany*,
 "he never discoursed of those things but with
 "OECOLAMPADIUS, BUCER and CAPITO,
 "and that he never imparted his opinions to
 "any body in *France*; besides, he always dis-
 "approved, and continues to disapprove the
 "anabaptists, who oppose the magistrates, and
 "would have all things to be common.

Q

" Where-

THE HISTORY

"Wherefore he concludes, that he ought
 "not to be prosecuted as a criminal, for fet-
 "ting forth some questions debated by the an-
 "tient doctors of the church, since he has
 "done it without acting like a seditious man.

"*Thirdly*, My Lords, because he is a foreigner,
 "wholly unacquainted with the customs of
 "this country, and knows not how to speak
 "and proceed in his trial, he humbly beseeches
 "you to give him an attorney, who may
 "speak for him, it will be well done, and the
 "LORD will prosper your Republick.

MICHAEL SERVETUS of Villanueva,
pleading his own cause.

SERVETUS presented some other petitions,
 of which an account will be given in its pro-
 per place.

Bibl. Ang.
 p. 138.

'On the 23d of *August*, SERVETUS being
 'brought to the bar, the attorney-general ex-
 'hibited thirty new articles against him, and
 'required that he should be interrogated upon
 'each of them. Most of those interroga-
 'tories concerned his person, his life and con-
 'versation.

'Here follows some of his answers: That
 'it was about four or five and twenty years
 'ago he left his own country, and he had not
 'returned thither since. That his parents were
 'not of jewish, but of christian and antient
 'extraction, and lived nobly (*vivans noble-*
 'ment). * That he had studied physick at

Paris,

* Qu'il
 etudia en
 médecine

a *Paris*, & y lût publiquement en mathématique : qu' étant gra-
 dué, & savant en médecine, il l'a toujours pratiquée depuis, n'ayant
 en aucune autre profession, excepté à *Lyon*, où il fut un peu de
 temps correcteur d'imprimerie : Que son premier livre (*de Tri-*
nitatis Erroribus) ne fut point imprimé à *Bâle*.

Paris, and that he read mathematical lectures in publick; that he having his degrees, and some knowledge in physick, did always practise in that faculty; having no other profession, unless it was at Lyons, where he was, for a short time, corrector of the press; and that his first book (*of Errors about the Trinity*) was not printed at Basil.

“ That he composed his last book (*Christianismi Restitutio*) without looking into the first printed in Germany:

“ That when he was in that country, he imparted his opinions to none but OECOLAMPADIUS, BUCER and CAPITO: That he published his last book with a good intention, following the dictates of his conscience: *

“ That no body had corrected the proofs but himself: That Mr. CALVIN,

“ and Mr. ABEL POUPIN (alias PEPIN) abused him much more in several Latin and

“ French books, than he had abused them in the Latin letter, written to the latter:

“ That if he is mistaken in his doctrine concerning infant baptism, he is ready to change his opinion, and begs mercy, (*qu’il demande*

“ *miserecord criant merci*): That he was not come to Geneva with a design to stay in that city, &c. That he told his landlord and

“ landlady, he intended the next day to set out for Switzerland; and that he did not

“ appear abroad for fear of being discovered.

“ It was upon this day, that the prisoner declared that he was impotent; for his judges being of opinion, that so great an

“ heretick must have been a great sinner; they asked him, whether he had never com-

“ mitted fornication? He answered, that

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

“ he

* Que per-
sonne n’
en a cor-
rigé les e-
preuves
que lui.

* Item, " he had never been guilty of that sin. Being
 S'il a été " further asked, how he could contain himself
 marié; & " (* considering his age, for he was then
 s'il re- " forty-four years old)? His answer was,
 spond que " that he was impotent through an accident
 non, fera " that happened to him in his child-hood.
 interrogé, " † But replied his judges, did you not say
 veu son " once, when they asked you, why you would
 aage, com- " not marry, that there were women enough
 ment il " to be had without marrying? He answered,
 s'est peu " that he did not remember that ever he had
 tant lon- " said any such thing; and that if he had, he
 guement " spoke it in jest ‡.
 contenir "
 de se ma- "
 rier.

† SERVET répondit qu'il ne s'étoit jamais marié, pour ce qu'il ne se sentoît pas potent, veu qu'il est coupé sur costé, & de l'autre il est rompu.

‡ En gaudislerie, pour donner à entendre qu'il n'étoit pas impotent; car il n'avoit que faire de le laisser savoir.

Bibl. Ang. " The author of the *Bibliotèque* observes
 p. 142. " upon this passage, that SERVETUS was so
 " fond of his new doctrine, from his younger
 " years, and his thoughts were so bent upon
 " it, that it is not improbable he would
 " have lived a chaste life, had he had all the
 " vigour of a man. We very rarely, *says he*,
 " see a reformer, but what is very regular, as
 " to his life and manners. The spirit of re-
 " formation, and the spirit of libertinism, are
 " altogether incompatible.
 " On the 28th of *August*, the lieutenant
 " brought in thirty-eight articles; about
 " which, he desired that the prisoner should
 " be examined, and that he should answer
 " each of them affirmatively, or negatively.
 " Those articles were inserted at the end
 " of a long preamble of the attorney-general;
 " the

“ the design of which was to shew, that S E R-
 “ V E T U S deserved to be put to death. The
 “ attorney-general represented to the judges,
 “ that S E R V E T U S varied in his answers ;
 “ that they were full of lyes, and that he de-
 “ rided G O D and his word, by alledging, cor-
 “ rupting and wresting the passages of the
 “ holy scriptures to conceal his blasphemies,
 “ and avoid being punished. He added, that
 “ S E R V E T U S had made a wrong choice of
 “ the examples quoted by him, in his peti-
 “ tion, out of the *Acts of the Apostles* ; and
 “ that what he said of the emperor C O N-
 “ S T A N T I N E was false. Besides, he alledg-
 “ ed against the prisoner the laws of those
 “ emperors, who condemned hereticks to
 “ death. He further said, that S E R V E T U S
 “ was condemned by his own conscience, and
 “ sensible that he deserved death ; and that,
 “ like the anabaptists, he deprived the magi-
 “ strates of the right of the sword : *Lastly*, He
 “ concluded, that since S E R V E T U S knew so
 “ well how to tell lyes, he should not have
 “ an attorney, as he desired ; that such a
 “ thing was forbidden by the civil law, and
 “ never granted to such seducers.

“ The articles, about which the prisoner
 “ was examined on that day, concern rather
 “ the impression of his book, his person, his
 “ life and conversation, than his doctrine.

“ He answered, among other things, that
 “ since his return from *Germany*, he had im-
 “ parted his opinions to none in writing, but
 “ to Mr. C A L V I N and Mr. P E P I N ; and that
 “ he had also writ a letter to Mr. P E T E R
 “ V I R E T, that he believed his doctrine to be
 “ true, till he should be convinced of the con-
 “ trary, &c.

“ The

“ The 31st of *August* the syndic and council of *Geneva* received a letter from the vice bailiff, and the king’s attorney at *Vienne*, dated the 26th of the same month, wherein they gave many thanks to those magistrates, for informing them that *SERVETUS* had been apprehended in their city, and that he was their prisoner, and desired them to send him back to *Vienne*, that their sentence might be executed upon him. That letter was delivered to the magistrates of *Geneva*, by the *viquier*, or captain, of the royal palace at *Vienne*.

“ On the same day *SERVETUS* being brought to the bar, the captain came in, and the judges asked the prisoner, whether he knew him? He answered, he did; and that he had been two days under his custody, from *Tuesday* till *Friday* in the morning, &c. Being asked by the judges, whether he had rather stay at *Geneva*, or go back to *Vienne* with the goaler that was come to fetch him? He threw himself upon the ground, melting in tears, and begged of the judges, that they would rather try him at *Geneva*, and deal with him as they should think fit (*& que messieurs fissent de lui tout ce qu’il leur plairoit*).

“ He further said, that he had been examined twice at *Vienne*; that he was asked, whether he had been in *Germany*? That they shewed him some sheets of a manuscript, which he had sent to *CALVIN*, and some letters which he had writ to him. He added, that he looked upon the mass as a wicked thing (*qu’il tient la messe meschante*) and had writ against it as the protestants; that

* Since that learned physician did not * Puisque
aspire after the glory of martyrdom, he ce savant
should not have writ against the doctrine of medicin
the Trinity, at a time when all hereticks of n' aspireroit
all kinds were committed to the flames. point à la
gloire du
martyre,

il ne devoit pas écrire contre la doctrine de la Trinité, dans un tems où l'on fuisoit expirer au milieu des flammes toutes sortes d'hérétiques. *Bibliot. p. 144.*

“SERVETUS cannot be excused for going
“to mass against his conscience, for he might
“have retired into a protestant country; but
“perhaps he was afraid of being prosecuted
“by the protestants as an anti-trinitarian. His
“heresy was known to several protestants of
“Geneva, Switzerland, and Germany; but the
“roman-catholicks in France knew nothing of
“his being an heretick, before he published
“his *Christianismi Restitutio*, and that CALVIN
“had charged heresie upon him.

" The goaler of *Vienne* left *Geneva*, having
" got an attestation, importing how *SERVE-*
" *TRUS* had declared, that he had made his
" escape without his assistance:

“ On the 1st of *September*, SERVETUS re-
 “ fused, out of generosity, to name those
 “ who were in his debt in *France*. The judges
 “ asked him several questions about it, at the
 “ sollicitation of the *Sieur de MAUGERON*,
 “ who writ a letter to them, to inform them,
 “ that the king had given SERVETUS’s estate
 “ to his son.

“On

* Je suis “
fâché de le “
rencontrer “
si souvent “
en mon “
chemin. “
Bibl. Ang. “
p. 145.

“ On the same day CALVIN appeared again before the prisoner. * I am sorry, says the author of the *Biblioteque*, to meet with CALVIN so often in my way. The judges ordered him to extract several propositions, word for word, out of SERVETUS's book, and that SERVETUS should answer, and prove his doctrine in *latin*. Pursuant to that order, CALVIN extracted many propositions out of that book, and reduced them to thirty-eight articles, which were delivered to the prisoner. The latter answered them in writing. CALVIN made a reply, which was also delivered to the prisoner, on the 15th of *September*, I shall speak of them hereafter.

“ On that day (*September 15.*) SERVETUS presented another petition to his judges.

† *Most honoured Lords,*

‘ I Humbly beseech you, that you would be pleased to put a stop to those great delays, or leave off prosecuting me as a criminal. You see that CALVIN is put to his last

† *Mes tres honorés Seigneurs,*

JE vous supplie tres humblement, que vous plaife abreger ces grandes dilations, ou me mettre hors de la criminailté. Vous voyes que CALVIN est au bout de son roule, ne sachant se que doyt dire, & pour son plaisir me veult icy faire pourir en la prison. Les poulx me mangent tout vif, mes chaufes sont descirees, & nay de quoy changer, ni perpoint, ni chamise, que une mechante. Je vous avois présenté une aultre requeste, la quiete estoit selon DIEU. Et pour la empêcher, CALVIN vous a allegué JUSTINIAN certes il est mal heureux, d'alleguer contra may ce que luy me sme ne croyt pas. Luy mesme ne tient poynt, ni croyt poynt ce que JUSTINIAN a dict de sacrosantis ecclesiis, & de episcopis & clericis, & daultres choses de la religion: Et scait bien que leglise estoit desja depravée.

depravée. Cest grandhonte a luy, encores plus grande, qu'il a cinq semaines que me tient icy si fort enfermé, & na jamais allegué contra moi un seul passage.

Messeigneurs, je vous avoys aussi demandé un procureur, ou advocat, comme aviés permis à ma partie, la quele nen avoyt si afaire que moy que suys estrangier, ignorant les costumes de ce pays. Toute fois vous lavés permis a luy, non pas a moy, & laves mis hors de prison, davant de cognoistre. Je vous requier que ma cause soyt mise au conseil de deux cents, aveque mes requestes : Et si jen puy appeller la, jen appelle, protestant de tous despans, dammages & intéres, & de *pæna talionis*, tant contra le premier accusatuer, que contra CALVIN son maistre, qui a prins la cause a soy. Faict en vos prisons de Geneve le 15 de Septembre, 1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS en sa cause propre.

' last shift, and knows not what to say, and is
' resolved that I should rot in a prison to please
' himself. I am eaten up with lice: My
' breeches are torn in pieces; and I have none
' to shift, nor another doublet; no shirt, but
' a very sorry one. I presented you with an-
' other petition, which was according to
' GOD: And to prevent the good effect of
' it, CALVIN has quoted JUSTINIAN against
' me. Certainly he is a very unhappy man,
' to alledge against me what he does not be-
' lieve. He himself does not believe what
' JUSTINIAN says, *De sacrosanctis ecclesiis, &*
' *de episcopis & clericis*; i. e. Of the sanctity of
' churches, and of bishops and clerks, and
' other things relating to religion: He knows
' very well, that the church was then cor-
' rupted. 'Tis a great shame for him to do
' so; but 'tis a greater shame still, that he
' should have kept me a close prisoner these
' five weeks, without alledging any one passage
' against me: (I suppose SERVETUS means
' any one passage that is to the purpose.)

R

' My

‘ My Lords, I also desired you to allow me
 ‘ an attorney, or an advocate, as you have al-
 ‘ lowed one to my adversary, who did not
 ‘ want it so much as I do, who am a foreigner,
 ‘ unacquainted with the customs of this coun-
 ‘ try; and yet you have granted his request,
 ‘ and denied mine, and set him at liberty be-
 ‘ fore you took cognizance of my cause. I
 ‘ desire that my cause may be removed to the
 ‘ council of two hundred, with my petitions;
 ‘ and if I can appeal to them, I actually do
 ‘ it, protesting against all charges and ex-
 ‘ pences, and insisting upon *pœna talionis*, not
 ‘ only against the first accuser, but also against
 ‘ CALVIN, who has taken the cause upon
 ‘ himself. From your prison at *Geneva*, Sep-
 ‘ tember 15. 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *pleading*
his own cause.

“ SERVETUS presented two other peti-
 “ tions, between that day (*September 15.*) and
 “ the 27th of *October*, on which he was exe-
 “ cuted. The first is dated the 22d of Sep-
 “ tember, and is as follows :

* *Most honoured Lords,*

‘ I Am confined like a criminal, and prose-
 ‘ cuted by JOHN CALVIN, who has
 ‘ falsely accused me, pretending that I have
 ‘ published.

‘ I. That

* *Tres honorés Seigneurs,*

J E suis detenu en accusation criminelle de la part de J E H A N
 CALVIN, lequel me faulxamant accuse, disant que j’aves es-
 script.

I. Que

1. Que les ames estiont mortelles & aussi.
2. Que JESUS CHRIST navoyt prins de la vierge MARIA, que la quatriesme partié de son corps.

Ce sont choses horribles, & execrables. En toutes les aultres heresies, & en tous les aultres crimes, nen a poynt si grand, que de faire lame mortelle. Car a tous les âutres il y asperance de salut, & non poynt a cestui cy. Qui dict cela, ne croyt poynt qu'il y aye DIEU, ni justice, ni resurrection, ni JESUS CHRIST, ni saincte escriture, ni rien: Si non que tout e mort, & que home & beste soynt tout un. Si javes dict sela, non seulement dict, mais escript publicamant, pour enfecir le monde je me condamnares moy mesme a mort.

Pourquoy Messieurs, je demande que mon faulx accusateur soynt puni *pœna talionis*, & que soynt detenu prisonier comme moy, jusques a ce que la cause soynt diffinie pour mort de luy ou de moy, ou aultre poine. Et pour ce faire je me inscrist contra luy a la dicte poine de talion. Et suys content de morir, si non est convençu, tant de cecy, que d'aultres choses, que je luy mètre dessus. Je vous demande justice, Messieurs, justice, justice, justice. Faict en vos prisons de Geneve le 22 de Septembre.

MICHEL SERVETUS en sa cause propre.

1. That human souls are mortal; and also,
2. That JESUS CHRIST took only the fourth part of his body from the virgin MARY.

These are horrid and execrable things. There is no heresy nor crime so great, as that of asserting, that the soul is mortal; for there is hope of salvation in all other crimes and heresies, but not in this. Whoever maintains such a thing, does not believe the being of a GOD, nor a divine justice, nor the resurrection, nor JESUS CHRIST, nor the holy scriptures: In a word, he believes nothing at all. Had I said and published

R 2

such

THE HISTORY

‘ such a thing, to infect the world, I should
 ‘ condemn my self to death.
 ‘ Wherefore, my Lords, I desire that my
 ‘ false accuser should be punished *pœna talionis*,
 ‘ and confined to a prison, as I am, till he or
 ‘ I be condemned to death, or to some other
 ‘ punishment. I am willing to die, if he is
 ‘ not convicted both of this and other things,
 ‘ which I shall lay to his charge. I beg of
 ‘ you, my Lords, to do me justice ; justice,
 ‘ my Lords, justice. From my prison at *Geneva*,
 ‘ September 22 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *pleading*
his own cause.

“ That petition was attended with the fol-
 “ lowing articles.

* *Some articles, about which MICHAEL SERVETUS requires JOHN CALVIN should be interrogated.*

‘ I. **W**Hether in *March* last he got **W**IL-
 ‘ LIAM **T**RIE to write to *Lyons*,
 ‘ and said a great many things against **M**I-
 ‘ CHAEL **V**ILLANOVANOUS, alias **S**ER-
 ‘ VETUS.

* *Articles sur les quels MICHEL SERVETUS demande que JEHAN CALVIN foyt interrogé.*

I. **S**I le mois de *Mars* dernier passé fit escrire par **G**UILLAUME
TRIE a *Iyon*, disant, tout plein de choses de **M**ICHAEL
VILLANOVANUS, dict **S**ERVETUS. Quel estoit le contenu de
 la lettre, & pour quoy.

II. Si avecque la dicte lettre envoya la moytie du premier quayer
 du livre du dict **S**ERVETUS, ou estoit le titre, & l’indice, out table,
 & quelque commancament du dict livre, intitule *Christianismi Resti-*
tutio.

III. Si

III. Si tout cela ne fut envoyé, pour le faire voir aux officiaux de *Lion*, pour faire accuser le dict SERVETUS, comme le effect sen suyvit.

IV. Si environ quinze jours apres la dicte lettre, envoya derechef par le mesme TRIE plus de vingt epistres en *latin*, que le dict SERVETUS luy havoyt escrit : Et les envoya, comme les aultres de par dela luy demandiont, a fin que plus surement le dict SERVETUS fut accusé & convenu, comme l' effect sen suyvit.

V. Si apres na entendu, que pour la dicte accusation, le dict SERVETUS à esté *Bruslé* en effigie & son bien confisqué, & fuisse esté *Bruslé* in persone, si ne se fut eschapé des prisons.

VI. Si ne sçait bien que nest poyn lestat dun ministre del evangile, de estre accusateur criminel, ni de por suivre judicielement un home a mort.

Messeigneurs, il y a quatre raisons grandes & infallibles, par les quielles CALVIN doyt estre condamné.

La *Premiere* est, pour ce que la matiere de la doctrine nest poynt subiecte à accusation criminelle, comme vous ay monstre par mes requestes, & monstrarei plus amplemant par les anciens docteurs de leglise. Pour quoy il a grandamant abusé de la criminalité, & contra lestat dun ministre de levangile.

La *Seconde* raison est pource qu'il est faulx accusateur, comme la presente inscription vous monstre & se prouvera facilement par la lecture de mon livre.

La *Tierse* est, que par frivoles & calumnieuses raisons veult opprimer la verité de JESU CHRIST, comme par le raport de nos escritures vous sera manifesté. Car il y a mis degrandes menteries & meschancees.

La *Quatriesme* raisons est, que en grande partie il ensuyt la doctrine de SIMON MAGUS, contra tous les docteurs qui furent jamais en leglise. Pour quoy comme magicien quel est, doyt non seulement estre condamné, mais doyt estre exterminé & dechaché de vostre ville. Et son bien doyt estre adjudé a moy en recompanse du mien, que luy ma faict perdre la quiele chose, Messeigneurs, je vous demande. Faict le jour que dessus, &c.

MICHEL SERVETUS en sa cause prope.

' VETUS. What were the contents of that
' letter, and for what end it was written.

' II. Whether

‘ II. Whether he sent, with the said letter,
 ‘ one half of the first quire of the said SER-
 ‘ YETUS’s book, containing the title, the
 ‘ index, and the beginning of the said book,
 ‘ entitled, *Christianism Restitutio*.

‘ III. Whether it be not true, that the whole
 ‘ was sent to shew it to the officials at *Lyons*,
 ‘ that the said SERVETUS might be prose-
 ‘ cuted as it appeared by the event.

‘ IV. Whether about a fortnight after, he
 ‘ sent, by the same TRIE, above twenty
 ‘ latin letters (which the said SERVETUS
 ‘ had writ to him) according to the desire of
 ‘ his enemies at *Lyons*, that the said SERVE-
 ‘ TUS might be more easily prosecuted, and
 ‘ convicted, as it appeared by the event.

‘ V. Whether he was not informed since,
 ‘ that by vertue of the said accusation, the
 ‘ said SERVETUS was burnt in effigie, and
 ‘ his estate confiscated; and that he would
 ‘ actually have been burnt, had he not made
 ‘ his escape.

‘ VI. Whether he knows not, that it does
 ‘ not become a minister of the gospel to pro-
 ‘ secute a man to death.

‘ My Lords, there are four weighty and
 ‘ undeniable reasons, for which CALVIN
 ‘ ought to be condemned.

‘ *First* Because no man ought to be prose-
 ‘ cuted like a criminal for any doctrinal point,
 ‘ as I have shewed in my petitions, and shall
 ‘ make

' make it appear more at large by the antient
' doctors of the church; and therefore he has
' made a very ill use of a criminal prosecution,
' and acted against the character of a
' minister of the gospel.

' *Secondly*, Because he is a false accuser, as
' you may see by these papers, and as it
' will plainly appear, by the reading of my
' book.

' *Thirdly*, Because he designs to stifle the
' doctrine of CHRIST by frivolous and calumnious
' arguments, as you plainly see by
' my papers; for he has inserted in them great
' lyes and wicked things.

' *Fourthly*, Because he follows, in a great
' measure, the doctrine of SIMON MAGUS,
' contrary to all the doctors that ever lived in
' the church: And therefore being a magician,
' he ought not only to be condemned,
' but also expelled from your city; and his
' estate ought to be adjudged to me as an
' equivalent for the loss of mine, which he
' has occasioned. This is, my Lords, what
' I desire of you, written the abovesaid day,
' &c.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *pleading
his own cause.*

" I have found out, that CALVIN had
" some enemies at *Geneva*, who advised SERVETUS
" to abuse him to the highest degree,
" and made him believe it would be very advantageous
" to his cause. I shall have hereafter
" after a more proper occasion to enlarge upon
" this particular.

Here follows the last petition of SERVETUS.

Magnificent

* *Magnificent Lords,*

' **I** IS now three weeks since I desired to
' have a hearing, but could not ob-
' tain it. I beseech you, for JESUS CHRIST
' sake, not to deny me what you would not
' deny a *Turk*, when I desire you to do me
' justice. I have several things to tell you,
' that are very important and necessary.

' As for the orders you gave, that some-
' thing should be done to keep me clean, they
' have not been performed; and I am more
' miserable than ever. Besides, I am very much
' troubled with cold, by reason of my cholick
' and rupture, which occasions some other mi-
' series that I am ashamed to write. 'Tis a
' great piece of cruelty, that I should not be
' allowed to speak, in order to supply my
' wants. For God's sake, my Lords, give
' some orders about it, either out of compas-
' sion, or out of duty, *October 10. 1553.*

MICHAEL SERVETUS.

* *Magnifiques Seigneurs,*

IL y a bien troyz semaines, que je desire & demande avoyr audi-
ance, & nay jamais peu lavoyr, je vous supplie pour lamour de
JESU CHRIST, ne me refuser ce que vous ne refuseries a un
Turc, en vous demandant justice. J'ay avous dire choses d'import-
tante, & bien necessaires.

Quant a ce que avies commandè, qu'on me fit quelque chose
pour me tenir net, nen a rien este faict, & suys plus pietre que ja-
mais. Et d'avantage le froyt me tormante grandamant, a cause de
ma colique & rompure, la quelle mengendres daultres pauretes,
que ay honte vous escrire. C'est grand cruaulté, que je naye conget
de parler seulement pour remedier a mes necessites. Pour lamour
de DIEU, Messieurs, dones y ordre, ou pour pitié, ou pour le
devoyr. Faict en vos prisons de *Geneve* le dixieme d'*Octobre*, 1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS.

Dr.

' Dr. MACKENZIE, in his treatise of the Bibl. Ang. V. II. p. 361.
 ' lives and characters of the most eminent wri-
 ' ters of the *Scotch* nation, makes no * scruple of * Etoit si respecté des magistrats, & du peuple de Geneve, qu'il n'étoit, pas moins absolu dans cette ville-la, que le pape l'étoit à Rome.
 ' saying, that CALVIN was so much respected
 ' by the magistracy and people of *Geneva*,
 ' that he was as absolute a master there, as the
 ' pope was at *Rome*; and having bestowed a
 ' great *encomium* upon him, he adds, † That † Mais on blâme CALVIN d'avoir faite paroître un zèle violent contre ceux qui avoient des sentimens différens des siens. — Il donna des marques de ce zèle trop
 ' he was much to be blamed, upon his being
 ' too hot in his zeal against those who differed
 ' from him in opinions. An instance of his
 ' too fiery zeal he gave in the burning of SER-
 ' VETUS, and in his book about putting here-
 ' ticks to death, and in saying injurious things
 ' of those who differed from him. Thus
 ' speaking of SERVETUS, he calls him a
 ' most proud *Spanish* dog; and in his dedica-
 ' tion to prince RADZIVILLE, prefix'd to
 ' his comment on the *Acts of the Apostles*, he
 ' gives such names and epithets to the soc-
 ' nians in *Poland*, and to the fathers of the
 ' council of *Trent*, that none who have a
 ' christian temper can allow of. And speak-
 ' ing of SERVETUS, he says, this physician
 ' understood the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*
 ' languages; and had he confined himself to

S

' his

ardent en faisant brûler SERVET, en publiant un livre, pour prou-
 ver que l'on doit faire mourir les hérétiques, & en oisant des injures
 à ceux qui n'étoient pas de son sentiment. C'est ainsi qu'en parlant
 de SERVET, il le traite d'orgueilleux chien *Espagnol*, & dans l'
 épître dédicatoire au prince RADZIVILLE, qu'il a mise au devant
 de son commentaire sur les *Actes des Apôtres*, il dit des injures si out-
 rageantes aux sociniens de *Pologne*, & aux peres du concile de *Trente*,
 qu'aucun bon chrétien ne sauroit les excuser. Il observe que MI-
 CHEL SERVET entendoit le *Latin*, le *Grec*, & l'*Hebreu*, & que si
 ce médecin s'étoit bonné à sa profession on peut croire, avec beau-
 coup de vraisemblance, qu'il auroit rendu de grands services à la
 republique des lettres.

‘ his own profession, the republick of letters
 ‘ had been very much obliged to him.’

That what Dr. MACKENZIE observes concerning CALVIN’s power, was just, does not only appear from many preceding instances, but particularly from this : That as the author of the *Bibliothèque* remarks, p. 153. *Il ne paroît pas que les juges de SERVET ayent fait aucune attention à ces requêtes.* That it does not appear, that SERVETUS’s judges had any manner of regard to his petitions. We have already said, adds he, that the magistrates of *Geneva* ordered CALVIN to extract several propositions out of SERVETUS’s book, entitled, *Christianismi Restitutio.*

* CALVINI brevis refutatio errorum MICHAELIS SERVETI, Cal. Theo. Trait. p. 837.

‘ Pursuant to that order, * CALVIN went immediately about it, and reduced those propositions to thirty-eight articles. The title prefixed to them runs thus :



Sententiæ, vel propositiones, excerptæ ex libris MICHAELIS SERVETI, quas ministri ecclesiæ Genevensis partem impias & in DEUM blasphemias; partim profanis erroribus & deliriis refertas esse asserunt; omnes vero, à verbo DEI & orthodoxo ecclesiæ consensu prorsus alienas.

Sentences or Propositions extracted from the books of MICHAEL SERVETUS, which the Ministers of the church of Geneva, declare to be full of impious blasphemies against GOD, and of other mad and profane errors, altogether repugnant to the word of GOD, and the orthodox agreement of that church.

I. OMNES qui Trinitatem statuunt in essentia Dei, esse Tritoitias, veros Atheos, nec Deum habere nisi tripartitum, & aggregativum. Item, habere connotativum Deum, non absolutum: Imaginarios habere deos, & illusiones dæmoniorum; lib. 1. de Trinitate, p. 30. Quibus respondet quod addit pagina sequenti. Somnia ut voles, dirige oculos ad phantasmata, & tunc videbis tuam Trinitatem non esse intelligibilem sine

I. ALL those who believe a Trinity in the essence of God, are Tritheists, true Atheists; nor have they any other than a tripartite, and aggregate God, connotative, not absolute; they have imaginary gods, and illusions of dæmons; 30th p. of the first Book on the Trinity; to which agrees what he adds in the following page: They are dreams of your own; cast your eyes upon what phantasms are, and you will soon perceive that your Trinity is not intelligible without three phantasms.

ne tribus phantasmatis. Tandem concludit, omnes Trinitarios esse Atheos.

phantasms. At length he concludes, that all Trinitarians are Atheists.

II. Tot autoritatibus fulciri *Hebræos*, ut tripartitum Deum à nostris introductum merito admirerentur. *Lib. 1. de Trin. p. 36.*

II. *He asserts, that the Hebrews being supported by so many authorities, deservedly wonder at the tripartite Deity that is introduced by us.*

III. Incorpoream Deitatem realiter distinctam *Mahometo* causam dedisse negandi Christum; *ibid.*

III. *To assert that the incorporeal Deity is really distinct within itself, has given the handle to Mahomet to deny Christ.*

IV. Tres illas res incorporeas distinctas in Dei unitate non posse stare, & esse Triadem imaginariam, *p. 29.*

IV. *That there should be three incorporeal beings, distinct in the unity of God, is utterly inconsistent, and is no other than an imaginary Trinity.*

V. Ut fucum impiis suis dogmatibus inducat, fateatur quidem in Deo personalem fuisse distinctionem, sed personam duntaxat externam intelligit, quæ in Dei essentia non verè subsistat; sicuti *lib. 3. de Trin. p. 92.* Dicit verbum fuisse idealem rationem ab initio, quæ jam hominem referebat fuisse in verbo apud Deum futuri hominis *Jesu Christi exemplar,*

V. *That he may colour over his impious opinions, he confesses that there was a personal distinction in God, but understands it of a person only external, that does not truly subsist in the essence of God. He says, that the word was an ideal reason from the beginning, which now relates to him as man; was the exemplar, person, effigies, countenance, face of the future man, Jesus Christ,*

plar, personam, effigiem, vultum, faciem, hominis in Deo repræsentationem. Item dialogo 1. p. 229. non esse inter verbum, & spiritum realem differentiam. Item lib. 5. de Trin. p. 189. nullam fuisse in Deo realem generationem, vel spirationem.

in the word with God; the representation of man in God. In his first dialogue likewise, page 229, he says, that there is no real difference between the word and the spirit; and in his first book of the Trinity, p. 189, that there was in God no real generation or spiration.

VI. Ut palam appareat confundi ab eo personas, lib. 2. de Trinit. p. 66. sic loquitur, ipsa sapientia olim simul erat, verbum & spiritus, quia non erat realis distinctio, ipsamet sapientia erat spiritus; & lib. 5. de Trin. p. 164. totum verbi, & spiritus arcanum definit fuisse fulgentem Christi gloriam.

VI. *That it may plainly appear, that the persons are confounded by him, he, in the second book of the Trin. p. 66, speaks after this manner; The wisdom itself was formerly both the word and the spirit, because there was no real distinction, that very same wisdom was the spirit; and in his 5th book, p. 164, he defines the whole mystery of the word and spirit to have been the effulgent glory of Christ.*

VII. Quanquam autem negat distinctionem realem in tribus personis ante Jesu Christi incarnationem; dicit tamen tanta gloria decoratum fuisse Christum, ut non solum sit ipse Deus de Deo, sed & sit Deus de quo alius Deus procedat, lib. 5. p. 185.

VII. *However, tho' he denies any real distinction in the three persons, before the incarnation of Christ, yet he says that Christ was invested with so much glory, that he may not be only God himself of God, but that he may be God from whom another God may proceed, p. 185, of his 5th book of the Trinity.*

VIII. Ip-

VIII. Christ

VIII. Ipsum Christum esse Filium Dei, quatenus genitus est à Deo in utero virginis *Maria*. Idque non solum virtute spiritus sancti, sed quia Deus ex sua substantia illum genuit, lib. 1. de Trin. p. 11, 12. item epistola ad *Calvinum*, 1 & 2.

IX. Verbum Dei de cælo descendens esse nunc carnem Christi; ita ut caro Christi de cælo sit, lib. Trin. p. 17 & 18. item, lib. 2. p. 73. Corpus ipsum Christi esse corpus Deitatis, carnem ejus divinam, carnem Dei cælestem, de substantia Dei genitam. Item, Dial. 1. p. 231. Animam Christi esse Deum, carnem Christi esse Deum, & tam Christi animam quam carnem fuisse ab æterno in propria deitatis substantia.

X. Lib. 2. de Trinit. p. 77. sic loquitur. Essentia corporis & animæ Christi est verbi & spiritus Deitas, & Christus ab initio

VIII. *Christ himself is the Son of God, not only as begotten by God, in the womb of the virgin Mary, but because God begot him of his own substance, in p. 11, 12, of the first book of the Trinity, and in his epistle to Calvin, 1 & 2.*

IX. *That the word of God descending from heaven, is now the flesh of Christ; so as that the flesh of Christ is from heaven, p. 17, 18, of his first book of the Trinity, and in the second, p. 73. The very body of Christ is the body of the Deity; his flesh is divine, the celestial flesh of God, begotten of the substance of God: And in p. 231. of his first Dialogue, the soul of Christ is God, the flesh of Christ is God; and his soul, as well as his flesh, were from eternity, in the proper substance of the divinity.*

X. *In the second book of the Trinity, p. 77, he thus expresses himself. The essence of the body and soul of Christ is the Deity of the word*

tio est tam ratione corporis quam ratione animæ. Item, lib. 2. p. 87. Non solum in anima sed, & in carne Christi est substantia Deitatis. Item, lib. 5. de Trin. p. 164. Deus erat verbum & spiritus, verbum & spiritum variè dispensans in corpus, & animam.

word and spirit ; and Christ was from the beginning, as well in regard to his body, as to his soul ; so in p. 87, the substance of the Deity is not only in the soul, but in the body of Christ. So in the 5th book, p. 164, God was the word, and the spirit variously dispensing, word and spirit into body and soul.

XI. Ut ostendat sibi ludibrio esse Christi divinitatem, exponit eum dici sapientiam, & virtutem Dei, & splendorem gloriæ ipsius, perinde ac si vocaretur excellens, quædam sapientia & virtus, lib. 2. de Trin. p. 87.

XI. That he may shew how he sports himself with the divinity of Christ, he explains himself, by calling it the wisdom and power of God, and the splendor of his glory, even as if he should be only called some certain wisdom and power ; book 2. p. 87.

XII. Jesum Christum hominem, ab initio apud Deum fuisse in propria persona, & substantia ; lib. 2. de Trin. p. 90. Alibi tamen tribuit Christo duas personas ; lib. 4. de Trin. p. 129.

XII. The Man Christ Jesus was from the beginning with God in his proper person and substance ; book 2. p. 90, and yet he attributes to Christ two persons in his 4th book, p. 129.

XIII. Postquam confessus est verbum Dei factum fuisse hominem, dicit hoc verbum fuisse semen Christi. Lib. 4. p. 145. de Trin. Item rem esse aliam à filio. Lib.

XIII. After he had acknowledged that the Word of God was become man, he says this Word was the seed of Christ, in the 4th book of the Trinity, p. 145. That he was like-

Lib. 1. de Trin. p. 23. item verbum quo mundus creatus est, prolatum fuisse ejus gratia, unde sequitur ipsum non esse illud verbum. Lib. 2. de Trin. p. 85. Item verbum Dei fuisse rorem naturalis genituræ Christi in utero virginis, sicut semen generationis animalium. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 260. Præterea Filium Dei naturaliter genitum fuisse ex spiritu sancto per sermonem. Lib. 1. de regeneratione, p. 355.

XIV. Verbum ipsum Dei fuisse semen generationis Christi. Et sicut generantia omnia prius in seipsis semen concipiunt, quam foetus extra se mittant: Ita fuisse in Deo semen verbi, priusquam in Maria filius conciperetur. Lib. 4. de Trin. p. 146. Item paternum semem genituræ Christi, id ipsum in eo effecisse quod in unoquoque nostrum facit semen creatum patris. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 254.

XV. Per

likewise something different from the Son. Book 1. of the Trinity, p. 23. That the Word also, by whom the world was created, was produced by his favour; from whence it follows, that he himself is not that word. Book 2. of the Trin. p. 85. And that the Word of God was the dew of the natural geniture of Christ in the womb of the Virgin, as the seed of generation is in animals, in the second Dialogue of the Trinity, p. 260. Besides, the Son of God was naturally begotten by the Holy Spirit, thro' the Word. Book 1. of Regeneration, p. 355.

XIV. *The Word of God it self was the seed of the generation of Christ, as all generating beings conceive in themselves, before they bring forth the foetus; so the seed of the Word was in God, before the conception of a son by Mary. Book 4. of the Trinity, p. 146. That the paternal seed of the geniture of Christ effected the very same thing in him, which the created seed of the father does in every one of us. Dial. 2. of the Trinity, p. 254.*

XV. By

XV. Per actionem spiritus Dei extitisse ipsum Christi corpus, quoniam verbo divino quasi rore genituræ Christi cum elementis his creatis simul se terræ miscuerit, & quatenus divinus, & humanus halitus ejus animæ insitus fuerat, & coaluerit, extitisse hypostasim unam spiritus ejus, quæ est hypostasis spiritus sancti, lib. 5. de Trin. p. 165. Et antea dixerat in Christo tria elementa esse de substantia patris. Lib. 4. de Trin. p. 159.

XVI. Ut corrumpat dictum Apostoli, cap. ij. ad Hebræos, Christum scilicet non assumpsisse naturam angelorum, sed semen Abrahamæ, sic exponit nempe quod nos à morte liberavit. Lib. 2. de Trin. p. 90.

XVII. Deum esse patrem spiritus sancti, quod nihil aliud est quam personas confundere, quales etiam

XV. By the agency of the Spirit of God, the body of Christ itself existed; for by the divine word, as it were the dew of the geniture of Christ, the Spirit mingled itself with the created elements of the earth: And since the divine and human breath was sown and nourished together in his soul, the one Hypostasis of his Spirit became extant, which is the Hypostasis of the holy Spirit. Book 5. of the Trinity, p. 165. And he had said before, that the three elements in Christ were of the substance of the Father. Book 4. of the Trinity, p. 159.

XVI. In order to corrupt that saying of the Apostle, in the second of the Hebrews, viz. That Christ took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, he thus expounds it, viz. because he hath delivered us from death. Book 2. of the Trinity, p. 90.

XVII. That God is the father of the holy Spirit; the purport of which is nothing less than to confound the persons,

T

etiam ipse fingit. Lib. 5.
de Trin. p. 187.

*sons, even such persons as he
himself feigns them to be.
Book 5. of the Trinity, p. 187.*

XVIII. Ut ostendat se
ludere in voce personæ,
dicit unam solam fuisse
personalem imaginem seu
faciem, quæ erat Christi
persona in Deo, etiam an-
gelis communicato. Lib. 3.
de Trin. p. 102.

*XVIII. To shew how he
plays with the word person,
he says, that was one only
personal image, or face, which
was the person of Christ in
God, communicated also to
the angels. Book 3. of the
Trinity, p. 102.*

XIX. Tria elementa esse
ab utroque parente tam in
Christo quam in nobis;
terream verò materiam esse
à sola matre tam in Christo
quam in generalibus om-
nibus; unde sequitur illum
non habuisse corpus nostro
simile, id quod perinde
est ac redemptionem no-
stram delere. Dial. 2. de
Trin. p. 250. quod etiam
plenius exprimit. Lib. 5.
de Trin. p. 194. quum
dicit in nobis solum esse
elementa creata, in Christo
esse creata, & increata, &
substantiam spiritus Dei,
ipsi carni substantialiter
communicatam.

*XIX. As there are in us
three elements from each pa-
rent, so there are in Christ;
but the earthly matter is only
from the mother, as in Christ,
so in mankind in general;
whence it follows, that he had
not a body like ours, which
in consequence is to raise out
our redemption. Dial. 2. of
the Trinity, p. 250. which
he more fully expresses in
Book 5. of the Trinity, p. 194.
where he says, that there are
only created elements in us,
but in Christ there are both
created, and increated; and
that the substance of the
spirit of God is substantially
communicated to his flesh.*

XX. Rorem illum cœ-
lestem virgini obumbran-
tem, & semini ejus, & san-
guini

*XX. That the celestial
dew over-shadowing the vir-
gin, and mingling itself with
her*

guini sese immiscentem transformasse in Deum humanam materiam. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 263.

her semen and blood, transformed the human matter into God. Dial. 2. of the Trinity, p. 263.

XXI. Duas naturas confundens, dicit lucem creatam & increatam fuisse in Christo unam lucem; & ex spiritu divino, & anima humana constituisse in Christo unam substantialem animam. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 268. adeoque substantiam carnis, & substantiam verbi esse unam substantiam. Pag. sequenti. Tandem concludit carnem Christi substantiam verbi habere corporaliter, substantialem ipsum vitalem spiritum divinum; atque ita esse verè cœlestem, & de substantia Dei, carnem verbi, carnem Dei, quæ existentiam habet æternam. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 271.

XXI. *Confounding the natures, he says, that the created, and increated light, were in Christ one light; and that from the divine spirit, and human soul, one substantial soul was constituted in Christ; and thus the substance of flesh, and the substance of the word, are one substance, as in the following page. At last he concludes, that the flesh of Christ had the substance of the Word bodily; that substantial, vital, divine spirit itself, and so is truly celestial, and of the substance of God, the flesh of the Word, the flesh of God, which hath an eternal existence.*

XXII. Jesum Christum participationem Dei & hominis habentem non potuisse dici creaturam, sed participem creaturarum. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 272.

XXII. *That Jesus Christ partaking both of God and man, could not be said to be a creature, but a partaker of creatures.*

XXIII. Unam & eandem Deitatem quæ est in Patre

XXIII. *That one and the same deity, which is in the*
T 2 *Father,*

Patre communicatam fuisse Filio Jesu Christo immediate & corporaliter. Deinde eo mediatore per ministerium angelici spiritus communicatam fuisse spiritualiter apostolis. Ac Christo quidem soli à natura esse Deitatem insitam corporaliter, spiritualiter: Verum ab eo dari aliis sanctum & substantialem halitum. Lib. 2. de Trin. p. 22.

XXIV. Sicuti verbum descendit in carnem Christi, ita spiritum sanctum descendisse in apostolorum animas. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 264.

XXV. Personas confundens sic inquit, naturaliter, & voluntariè erat Ἀβγ & idealis ratio & prolatio, relucetia Christi apud Deum, spiritus Christi apud Deum, lux ejus apud Deum: unde sequitur nullam fuisse substantiam, quum figura tantum esset illius rei quæ nondum erat, & interea à spiritu non differat. Dial. de Trin. p. 208.

XXVI. Nullam

Father, was communicated immediately and bodily to his Son Jesus Christ. Thence, he being mediator, it was communicated by the ministry of the angelick Spirit to the apostles spiritually; but that the deity was implanted bodily and spiritually by nature in Christ only; but a holy and substantial breathing is given by him to others.

XXIV. *As the word descended into the flesh of Christ, so the holy spirit descended into the souls of the apostles.*

XXV. *Confounding the persons, he says thus, that the Logos, or Word, was naturally and voluntarily the ideal reason and manifestation, the resplendence of Christ with God; the spirit of Christ with God, his light with God; from whence it follows it was no substance, but only the figure of what did not then exist, and at the same time does not differ from the spirit.*

XXVI. That

XXVI. Nullam ante Christi adventum visam fuisse spiritus hypostasim. Lib. 5. de Trin. p. 197. Ex quo sequitur nullam tunc fuisse hypostasim nec personam, quum nulla sit persona nisi visibilis; quemadmodum in libris suis affirmat, & responsis fateatur. Quibus respondet quod dicit. Dial. 1. p. 217. spiritum Dei umbram fuisse in creatione mundi.

XXVII. Ut intelligatur qualem æternitatem Christo tribuat, sicut (inquit) res omnes nunc sunt in Deo; ita eodem ordine ante creationem erant in eo, & primus omnium Christus. Item Deus ratione sua æterna corporalem sibi & visibilem Filium æternaliter decernens, talis speciei substantia seipsum visibilem præbet per sermonem. Dial. 1. de Trin. p. 205.

XXVIII. Christum quandiu in carne mortali versatus est, nondum accepisse spiritum novum quem à resurrectione sua ac-

XXVI. *That there was no visible hypostasis of the spirit before the coming of Christ; from whence it follows, that there was then no hypostasis, nor person, since that is no person that is not visible, as he asserts in his books, and confesses by his answers; to which agrees what he says in his first Dialogue, viz. that the spirit of God was the shadow in the creation of the world.*

XXVII. *That we may know what kind of eternity he allows to Christ: As (says he) all things are now in God, so they were in the same order in him before the creation, and Christ first before all things in him. Likewise, that God eternally discerning, by his own eternal reason, his Son to be corporeal, and visible to himself, exhibits himself visible, by the substance of the like species, through the world.*

XXVIII. *Christ, as long as he conversed in mortal flesh, had not then, as yet, received that new spirit, which he was to receive from his resurrection.*

accepturus erat. Lib. 5. de Trin. p. 185. Item Lib. 5. p. 195. Christum ante resurrectionem nondum obtinuisse totam Dei gloriam, sed postea spiritum novum accepisse. Totam ergo nunc verbi, & spiritus gloriam hypostaticè solum Christum continere. Cui etiam responderet quod Dial. 1. de Trin. p. 231. scribit, Deum spirantem spirasse in Christum, sicut in nos, spiritum sanctum supervenientem; atque ita totam denuo Deitatem dispensatione alia spirasse; ac ejus priorem spiritum in resurrectione innovasse, dato novo spiritu, quem datus in Jordane spiritus adumbrabat.

XXIX. In Dei substantia partes esse, & partitiones non eo modo quo in creaturis, sed secundum dispensationis distributionem; ita ut in spiritus partitione cujusque portio sit Deus. Lib. 3. de Trin. p. 121. Præterea ubi affirmavit spiritus nostros substantialiter ab æterno fuisse, subjungit illos esse consubstantiales, & coeternos. Dial.

rection. That Christ, before his resurrection, had not obtained the whole glory of God, but did receive the new spirit afterwards. That now therefore Christ alone contains, hypostatically, the glory of the Word, and of the Spirit, to which agrees what he writes in his first Dialogue: That God breathing, breathed into Christ, as into us, the holy spirit coming upon him. And by another dispensation, he inspired him, at last, with the whole deity, and renewed his former spirit in the resurrection; a new spirit being given, whom the spirit given in Jordan did prefigure.

XXIX. *That in the substance of God there are parts and partitions, not in the same manner as there are in creatures, but according to the distribution of the dispensation; in such manner, that in the partition of the spirit, every portion is God. Besides, when he asserts, that our spirits were substantially from eternity, he adds, that they are consubstantial, and coeternal;*

Dial. 1. de Trin. p. 226. Et tamen alio loco fatetur spiritum quo illuminati sumus extingui posse. Lib. de regen. 4. p. 555.

coeternal; and yet in another place he grants, that the spirit, by which we are illuminated, may be extinguished.

XXX. Omnibus insitum esse ab initio spiritum Deitatis ex Dei halitu. Dialogo 1. p. 138.

XXX. *That the spirit of the deity was implanted in all of us, from the beginning, by the breath of God.*

XXXI. Siquando in lege dicitur esse in aliquo spiritus Dei, non sumitur pro spiritu regenerationis sancto.

XXXI. *Whenever the spirit of God is said to be in any one under the law, it is not to be understood of the holy spirit of regeneration.*

XXXII. Angelos olim ut deos à Judæis fuisse adoratos, lib. 5. de Trin. p. 184. ita ut illos ipsorum deos appellet, pag. sequenti. Cui etiam respondet quod dicit Dialogo. 1. p. 216. nunquam fuisse in lege Deum vere adoratum, sed angelos adumbrantes Christum, fuisse adoratos. Item Abraham credidisse illi, qui Christum adumbrabat, pag. sequenti.

XXXII. *That angels were formerly adored as gods by the Jews; so that he calls them their gods, in the page after; to which that answers, that he said, that God was never truly worshipped under the law, but angels shadowing of Christ, were adored. That Abraham likewise believed in him who shadowed Christ.*

XXXIII. Et si autem fatetur Christum vel verbum non habuisse hypostasim realem ab initio, nihilominus affirmat angelos & electos

XXXIII. *Although he professes that Christ or the word had not his real hypostasis from the beginning, yet he asserts that angels and the*

electos in Deo fuisse realiter ab initio. Lib. 4. p. 135.

XXXIV. In omnibus creaturis Deitatem constituit etiam substantialem. Dial. 1. p. 213.

XXXV. Postea quam verò multa deliria, eaque perversa, ac perniciofa de animarum substantia confarcinavit à pag. 220. usque ad pag. 225. Dial. 1. tandem concludit animam esse ex Deo, & ex ejus substantia. Item inspirationem creatam in illam fuisse insitam unà cum Deitate, & iterum nova spiratione in unam cum Deo lucem substantialiter coire per spiritum sanctum.

XXXVI. Quanquam autem anima non est Deus, eam tamen effici Deum per spiritum, qui quidem est & ipse Deus, adeo ut dubitare sit nefas & animam nostram & ipsum Christi spiritum sanctum sibi junctam essentialiter habere ejusmodi elementarem substantiam, sicut verbum

the elect were really in God from the beginning.

XXXIV. *That Substantial Deity is in all his creatures.*

XXXV. *After he had patched together several frantick notions, and those perverse, and pernicious too, of the substance of souls, from p. 220. to p. 225. of his first Dialogue, he at length concludes, that the soul was from God, and of his substance. That a created inspiration was likewise sown in it, together with the deity; and again by a new inspiration, it substantially united into one light with God, by the holy spirit.*

XXXVI. *Although the soul is not God, yet it was made God by the Spirit, who is indeed God himself: So that it is wicked to doubt, that our soul, and the holy spirit itself of Christ, have the elementary substance of the same essentially joyned to them; and created beings, and increated beings, unite*
in

verbum habet sibi junctam carnem. Atque res creatas & increatas in unam animæ, & spiritus substantiam coire. Lib. 5. de Trin. p. 181, & 182.

in one substance of soul and spirit.

XXXVII. Scripsit, adeoque vulgavit horrendas blasphemias contra Pædobaptismum, quemadmodum satis constat ex integris quatuor libris de regeneratione, præsertim verò ex conclusione, p. 576. Item non committi peccatum mortale ante annos viginti.

XXXVII. *That he has written and published horrid blasphemies against infant baptism, as it abundantly appears from all his four books of regeneration, especially at the conclusion. Likewise, that a mortal sin cannot be committed before the age of twenty.*

XXXVIII. Animam redditam esse mortalem per peccatum, sicut caro mortalis est, non quod in nihilum anima redeat, sicut nec caro, Sed mori quando cum dolore vitalibus actionibus privatur, & in interno languens detinetur, quasi non amplius victura. Lib. 4. de Reg. p. 551. Deinde concludit regenitos aliam habere animam quam ante, propter substantiam innovatam, & novam Deitatem adjunctam. Pagina sequenti.

XXXVIII. *That the soul is become mortal by sin, as the flesh is mortal; not that the soul is annihilated, as neither is the flesh, but the soul may be said to die, when it is deprived of all vital actions, through excessive grief, and is detained in hell, as if it was to live no more. Then he concludes, that the regenerate have another soul than before, because of their renewed substance, and new deity, added to them in the page after.*

Michaelis

U

Michael

Michaelis Serveti *Responsio ad Articulos*
Johannis Calvini.

Michael Servetus's An-
swer to John Calvin's
Articles.

EAM sibi jam authoritatem arrogat Calvinus, ut instar magistrorum Sorbonicorum articulos scribat, & quidvis pro sua libidine damnet, nullam penitus ex sacris adducens rationem. Mentem meam aut planè non intelligit, aut callidè alio detorquet, Unde cogor, scopum meum totum hic paucis proponere, ac pro me rationis adducere, antequam singulis ejus articulis respondeam.

Scopus meus totus fuit, quòd nomen hoc, Filius, in sacris literis propriè tribuatur homini Filio, idque semper, sicut eidem propriè semper tribuitur nomen *Jesus*, & nomen *Christus*. Ad hujus probationem adduxi omnes scripturæ locos, in quibus ponitur ea vox Filius, qua semper sumitur pro homine Filio, nullum dico in evangeliiis posse inveniri locum, in quo ponatur ea vox
Filius,

CALVIN arrogates that authority to himself, that he writes articles like the masters of Sorbon, condemning every thing according to his own arbitrary pleasure, without producing any manner of reason from scripture. He is either plainly ignorant of my meaning, or else he artfully gives a wrong turn it, which obliges me to open my whole design here in a few words, and to produce my reasons for it, before I answer his several articles.

All my design was to shew, that this name, Son, was properly given to the Son, as Man in the holy scriptures; and that always, as the name *Jesus*, and the name *Christ*, is always properly given to the same. For proof of this, I brought all those places of scripture, in which the word Son is to be found, which is always taken for the Son, as Man. I affirm, that there cannot be any one place produc'd in the evangelists, in which the word Son
is,

Filius, qua non accipiat pro homine Filio ; Si igitur scriptura ita semper accipit, ita & nos semper accipere oportet.

Secundam personam in deitate dixi olim dictam personam, eo quod esset personalis representatio hominis Jesu Christi, hypostaticè jam olim in Deo subsistentis, ac in ipsa deitate visibiliter relucens. Quia vero hæc personæ ratio, est *Calvino* incognita, & quia inde res ferè tota dependet, locos hic ex antiquis ecclesiæ doctoribus adducam.

is, which is not taken for the Son, as Man ; if therefore the scripture always understands it so, it becomes us always so to understand it.

I said that the second person in the deity, was formerly call'd a person, because it was a personal representation of the man Christ Jesus, hypostatically subsisting antiently in God, and visibly resplendent in the deity itself. But because this account of the word person, is unknown to Calvin, and because the whole affair depends upon it, I will produce several places here, out of the antient doctors of the church.

Here he makes sixteen quotations out of *TERULLIAN*, ten out of *IRENÆUS*, and five out of the recognitions ascribed to St. *CLEMENT* ; *CALV. Refutatione Errorum* ; *MIC. SERVETI. Tract. Theol. p. 841, 842, 843*, to confirm his sense of the word Person, to be the human person of the Word. And then applies himself to answer the several articles of *CALVIN*.

Jam ad singulos Calvini Articulos respondere superest.

In ipso cum primis titulo mirari subit hominis impudentiam, qui se orthodoxum prædicet, quum sit *Simonis Magi* discipulus, ut in apologia mea jam evidenter ostendi. Quis ortho-

One can't but wonder at the impudence of the man, upon the first sight of the title to the articles, where he proclaims himself orthodox, when he is no other than a disciple of Simon Magus, as I have

orthodoxum dicat ministrum ecclesiæ, accusatorem criminalem, & homicidam.

evidently made appear in my apology. *Who can call a criminal accuser, and a murderer, an orthodox minister of the church?*

I. **A**D primum articulum jam sæpius respondi, & ex citatis authoribus constat, in ipsa Dei essentia, & unitate, non esse realem trium invisibilium rerum distinctionem. Sed personalem esse invisibilis Patris, & visibilis Filii distinctionem. Hoc secundo modo Trinitas sanctissimè creditum, primo non item.

II. III. IV. Ad secundum, tertium & quartum similis est responsio. Quod de Mahometo ais; *Turcæ hodie confirmant id ex parte verum esse.*

V. Ad quintum, & externè & internè in Deo ipso subsistentiam Filii semper professus sum, Et tu tibi ipsi contradicis; Nam si idealis erat ratio, interna jam erat. Nescis planè quid dicis. Quod de reali differentia subdis, à me jam est concessum & demonstratum.

I. **T**O the first article I have more than once answered; and it is evident from the authors I have quoted, that in the essence and unity of God, there is not a real distinction of three invisible beings; but that there is a personal distinction of the invisible Father, and the visible Son. I religiously believe a Trinity in this second way, not in the first.

II. III. IV. The like answer is to be given to the 2d, 3d and 4th, as to what you say about Mahomet. The Turks at this time confirm that to be true in part.

V. To the fifth article. I always professed the subsistence of the Son of God, both externally and internally, and you contradict your self; for if it was an ideal reason, it was then internal. You are plainly ignorant of what you say. What you add about a real difference has been already ready

monstratum. Obsecro te, lege diligenter locos a me præscriptos, & indue cor hominis christiani, orans ut tibi reveletur veritas.

ready granted, and proved by me. I beseech you, read with attention the places quoted by me, and put on the heart of a christian, praying that the truth may be revealed to you.

VI. Ad sextum dico, non potuisse confundi ea que non erant separata, ipsammet sapientiam interpreta-
tur *Irenæus* spiritum sanctum. Lib. 4. cap. xvii, & xxxvii, & *Tertullianus*, lib. de carne Christi adversus *Hermogenem*, & adversus *Praxeam*. *Solomon* item, quum sapientiam sibi datam testatur, spiritum sanctum intelligit, id ipsum ostendit *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch* & *liber Sapientiæ*, ut epistola 8. ad te jam citavi. Totum verbi & spiritus arcanum dico fuisse ad Christi gloriam, quia in eo tota verbi & spiritus plenitudo. O te miserum! si damnare pergas ea quæ non intelligis.

VI. To the sixth I answer, that those which were not separate, could not be confounded. *Irenæus* interprets the very same wisdom to be the holy spirit, in the xviith and xxxviith chapters of his fourth book. *Tertullian* does the same in his book of the flesh of Christ against *Hermogenes* and *Praxeas*. *Solomon* also, when he testifies the wisdom given to him, understands it of the holy spirit. *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch*, and the Book of Wisdom, shew the same thing, as in my eighth epistle I have already cited to you. I say, that the whole mystery of the Word, and of the Spirit, was to the glory of Christ, because in him is all the fullness of the Word and Spirit. O unhappy man! if you persist to damn those things you don't understand.

VII. Alium deum dixi, alium deitatis modum. Hoc insuper ibi adjeci, quod

VII. Another god, did I say? I meant another mode of deity. Moreover I added this,

quod si hic loquendi modus te offendat, dicas aliam deitatis personam. Quid opus fuit te in calumniam vertere id quod eodem loco ego jam castigaram? Candidus ubique se ostendit tuus animus!

VIII. Annon quis dicitur filius ejus à quo genitus est? Ita dico, Deum de substantia ab æterno protulisse Filium hunc. Unde dicitur ille ex Deo naturalitur esse.

IX. Verbum est nunc caro Christi hypostaticâ unionē: Ita plane dico, carnem Christi de cælo esse, secundum essentiam deitatis, ipsamque carnem dici manna de cælo datum. Reliqua item concedo, in sensu à me ibi exposito. Qualia hic misere emendicas, & primam veritatem omittis.

X. Essentia dicitur, à qua quis sustentatur. Non pudet te tanta hic referre & nullam improbrationis rationem adducere? Solo
tuo

this, That if this manner of speaking was offensive, you may call it another person of deity. What occasion was there to turn that into calumny, which I had my self corrected in the same place? Your mind shews abundance of candor every where!

VIII. *Is not every one call'd the son of him who begot him? So say I. That God of his own substance from eternity, brought forth this Son; whence he is said to exist naturally of God.*

IX. *The Word is now the flesh of Christ by hypostatical union: Thus I plainly say, that the flesh of Christ is from heaven, according to the essence of the deity, and his flesh is call'd the manna given from heaven. The rest I also grant, in the sense I there explain it. Such things as these you here wretchedly take for granted, and neglect the main truth.*

X. *That is call'd essence, by which one is sustain'd in being Are not you asham'd to alledge so many things here, and to produce no manner of ground*

tuo lanino latratu putas
judicum aures obtundendas
esse.

ground for such calumnies?
*Do you think that the ears of
the judges are to be stopt only
by your barking?*

XI. Inique in omnibus
agis, & falsò locum citas.
Non ita loquutus sum, ut
tu mihi imponis.

XI. You pervert every
thing, and quote the place
falsely: I did not say what
you impose upon me.

XII. Prima pars verif-
sima est, quam tu utinam
bene intelligeres. Christus
in se una persona est, sed
in eo est vere spiritus san-
ctus, qui etiam persona
est.

XII. The first part is most
true, which I wish you did
well understand. Christ is
in himself one person, and in
him is the holy spirit indeed,
who also is a person.

XIII. Semen dico, ut
Tertulliani locus duodeci-
mus indicat, *Irenæus* item
ibi citatus, & *Philo* in primo
Dialogo, p. 201, ubi om-
nis tua calumnia tollitur
appertissimè. In loco illo
quem citas, p. 23. Sermo
accipitur pro voce de cælo
dicente, hunc esse Filium
Dei. Locum illum nec
legisti, nec intellexisti, ergo
nihil ad rem facit, quod tu
citas. Quod verbi deitas
re ipsa aliud sit quam homo
filius, quis non videt? Re-
liqua quæ subdis, concedo
vera esse.

XIII. I say the seed, as
the twelfth place of *Tertul-
lian* shews; and *Irenæus*
there cited, and *Philo* in
p. 201 of his first Dialogue,
by which all your calumny is
openly removed. In that place
which you quote, p. 23, the
Word is taken for the voice
speaking from heaven, this
is the Son of God. That place
you have neither read, nor
did you understand it, there-
fore that citation cometh to no-
thing. That the deity of the
Word is something in reality
besides the son of man, who
does not perceive? The rest
you add, I grant to be true.

XIV. Totum

XIV. I grant

XIV. Totum concedo, quia deitas egit vice feminis, ut explicui Dialogo primo, p. 201.

XIV. *I grant the whole, because the deity supply'd the place of the semen, as I have explain'd it in the first Dialogue.*

XV. Id idem concedo, si ultimum de paternis elementis intelligas, dictum ob idealem eorum in Deo rationem.

XV. *I grant the same, if you understand the last to concern the paternal elements, so call'd from the ideal reason of them in God.*

XVI. Nihil ego corrumpto, sed utramque interpretationem recipio, & tu omnia ibi falso citas, & doces.

XVI. *I corrupt nothing, but receive both interpretations; and you there cite and teach every thing falsely.*

XVII. Confusus tibi est animus, ut intelligere verum nequeas; metaphoram dico.

XVII. *Your mind is so confus'd, that you cannot understand the truth; I speak metaphorically.*

XVIII. Authores mecum de persona loquentes jam citavi, nihil omnino ludens, sed propriè dictionibus utens, quibus tu perfidè abuteris.

XVIII. *I have already quoted what the authors I have, say of person; not playing fast and loose with them, but using their own phrases, which you perfidiously abuse.*

XIX. Corpus Christi est nostro simile, excepta peccati ratione, excepto item quod ipsum est particeps deitatis.

XIX. *The body of Christ is like ours, sin excepted, and also that his is partaker of the deity.*

XX. Trans-

XX. Trans-

XX. Transformatio est, ibi, glorificatio, & illustratio.

XX. Transformation there, is glorification, and illustration.

XXI. Qui adheret Deo, unus cum eo spiritus est. An est confusio cum duo in unum uniuntur? An confundantur anima & caro, quum unum hominem faciunt. Ignoras miser ipsa rerum principia.

XXI. He that adheres to God, is one spirit with him: Is that confusion, when two are united into one? Are mind and flesh confounded, when they make one man? You are miserably ignorant of the very principles of things.

XXII. Quid tum postea?

XXII. And what then?

XXIII. Verum est.

XXIII. It is true.

XXIV. Quodammodo fere, similitudo quædam est, ut ibidem ostendo.

XXIV. In some sort, almost, there is some similitude, as I shew in that place.

XXV. Tu te ipsum confundis, non intelligens quæ loqueris, quasi id quod in Deo hypostaticè subsistit non sit vera substantia.

XXV. You confound your self not knowing what you say, as if that which subsists hypostatically in God, is not real substance.

XXVI. Persona in verbo dicitur hypostasis visibilis, in spiritu est hypostasis perceptibilis.

XXVI. Person in the Word is call'd a visible hypostasis, in the Spirit a perceptible hypostasis.

XXVII. Bene habent omnia, nisi tibi esset animus perversus.

XXVII. All the notions there are right, if you had not a perverse temper of mind.

XXVIII. Vera

X XXVIII. All

XXVIII. Vera sunt omnia, si tu candide intelligas.

XXIX. Vera sunt omnia, eo excepto, quod spiritus Dei in se non dicitur extinguere, & quodammodo extinguitur in nobis, quia quum nos extinguimur, ipse recedit.

XXX. Maxime verum est, & tu miser à Simone Mago illusus, id ignoras, ut servum arbitrium statuens, nos facias truncos & saxa. Vide locum ex Clemente, & Petro citatum.

XXXI. Ut plurimum ita solet accipi.

XXXII. Ita ferè omnia in figura contingebant illis.

XXXIII. Mendacium est quod commiscet, nulla creatura erat realiter nisi ab instanti suæ creationis.

XXXIV. In omnibus est Deus, per essentiam, præ-

XXVIII. *All there is true, if you would candidly understand it.*

XXIX. *All is here true likewise, except that the Spirit of God is not said to be extinguished in itself, because when we are dead he departs.*

XXX. *This is very true; and, you miserably deluded by Simon Magus, know nothing of the matter; making the judgement a slave, you turn us into stocks and stones. See the last quotation out of Clement and Peter.*

XXXI. *As for the most part, it is so commonly understood.*

XXXII. *So almost all things appeared to them in figure.*

XXXIII. *What you put together here is false; there never was any creature, but from the instant of its creation.*

XXXIV. *God is in all things, by his essence, presence*

præsentiam, & potentiam,
& omnia ipse sustentat.

*sence and power, and sustains
all things in being.*

XXXV. Tolle verbum
ex substantia ejus, & reli-
qua invenies vera esse, te-
que solum cum Simone Mago
delirare.

XXXV. Take away the
Word out of his substance,
and you will find the rest to be
true, and that you your self
dote with Simon Magus.

XXXVI. Verum est,
multa in unum ita coire,
ut ossa, caro, nervi, anima,
forma, spiritus in unam ho-
minis substantiam coeunt.

XXXVI. 'Tis true. Thus
many things unite to make
one; as bones, flesh, nerves,
mind, form, spirit, unite to
make the one substance of man.

XXXVII. Scripsi fateor.
Quum tu me aliter docu-
eris, non solum recipiam,
sed & vestigia tua deoscu-
labor.

XXXVII. I wrote so, I
confess; when you shall con-
vince me of the contrary, I
will not only receive it, but I
will even kiss the ground you
go on.

XXXVIII. Locus ipse,
quem tu contra me citas,
docet te perfide agere.
Nam ibi dico, animam ve-
lut mori, & inferno lan-
guentem detineri; ergo si
languet, adhuc vivit. Vide
quid de anima superstitie
ego scribam, p. 76, 229,
& 718. Alia quodammo-
do dicitur in regenitis a-
nima: sicut propter acci-
dentia nova, dicitur res
nova.

XXXVIII. That place
which you quote against me,
shews that you deal very de-
ceitfully with me: For there
I say, that the soul does as it
were die, and is detain'd lan-
guishing in hell; therefore if
it languishes, it yet lives. See
what I writ of the existence
of the soul after death. The
souls of the regenerate are
said to be different from the
souls of others, as any thing
is said to be new, from the
accession of new accidents.

CALVIN might have left out some of the articles which do not seem to be quite so heretical as some others: As for instance, how could it enter into the heart of a learned and judicious man, and who understood the New Testament in the original, to call Antipædobaptism a heresie, and to condemn it for horrible blasphemy? It has been the common artifice of the priests to multiply heresies. The author of the *Memoirs of Literature* under his Art. 54. in the third Vol. p. 249. quotes a book, writ by ANTH. CAUCUS, arch-bishop of Corfu, *De Grecorum recentiorum hæresibus; i. e.* Of the heresies of the modern Greeks, inscrib'd to GREGORY XIII. and then tells us that M. SIMON makes several judicious reflections upon that book; among the rest he observes, that most missionaries sent into the *Levant* do more harm than good to religion; and for want of understanding the antient theology, they call every doctrine that does not agree with their notions, heresy. It " must
 " be confess'd (says the incomparable author
 " of the *Memoirs*) That heresies have been
 " strangely multiplied through ignorance and
 " a blind zeal. PHILASTRIUS, in *Catalogo*
 " *Hæreseon. Tom. v. Biblioth. Patrum. Lugd.* 1677,
 " bishop of *Brescia*, in the 4th century, is a
 " remarkable author upon that account. He
 " reckons among the hereticks, those who be-
 " lieve that earthquakes are produced by na-
 " tural causes; (*Hæc.* 54.) whoever says that
 " the number of years from the beginning
 " of the world is uncertain, (*Hæc.* 63.) or
 " that there are many worlds, (*Hæc.* 65.) or
 " that ADAM and EVE were blind before
 " they

“ they eat the forbidden fruit, which was the
 “ reason why they knew not before that they
 “ were naked ; (*Har.* 66.) and to mention
 “ but one more, those who take in a literal
 “ sense what the scripture says of SOLOMON’S
 “ having many wives and concubines, do be-
 “ lieve that this prince was much addicted to
 “ women : PHILASTRIUS calls those hea-
 “ thens, impious men, and ignorant *Jews* ;
 “ and will have the passage to refer to the
 “ spiritual gifts which CHRIST was to be-
 “ stow upon the faithful.

That learned author, upon this, argues very
 well : “ I cannot believe (*says he* p. 251,) that
 “ it is laudable to call a man an heretick, when
 “ he is not so ; nor do I think that any truth
 “ in natural philosophy and astronomy ought
 “ to be slighted ; those truths raise in us a
 “ greater admiration for the wise author of
 “ nature, and must needs be great helps to
 “ religion. No christian ought to be afraid of
 “ philosophy : tho’ I have a due esteem for the
 “ writings of the fathers, I may be allowed
 “ to say, that PHILASTRIUS wanted judg-
 “ ment ; and if a divine should write such a
 “ catalogue of heresies now-a-days, he would
 “ lose his reputation for ever. As the num-
 “ ber of heresies has frequently been multi-
 “ plied without any reason, so ’tis probable
 “ that many antient hereticks were not so vici-
 “ ous as they have been represented, many
 “ people fancying that one who is not sound
 “ in his doctrine, cannot be sound in his mo-
 “ rals ; tho’ the contrary does frequently ap-
 “ pear.

Such

Such men imitate the character that SUE-
 * SUE. TONIUS gives of NERO; * who, he says,
 NER. believ'd, for certain, that every man was
 C. XXIX. guilty of the same impurities he was, only
 Ex non- some had more cunning than others to dis-
 nullis semble and conceal it.
 comperi
 persuasif-
 simum habuisse eum, neminem hominum pudicum aut u'la corporis
 parta purum esse. verum plerosque dissimulare vitium & calliditate
 obtegere.

† History
 of council
 of Trent,
 translated
 from PIE-
 TRO
 SOAVE
 POLANO,
 by Sir NA-
 THANI.
 BRENT,
 Knight.
 Lond. Ed.
 fol. 1676.

† Father PAUL, in his history of the coun-
 cil of Trent, tells us, ' That about the same
 time that SERVETUS suffer'd, many were
 burnt in France for religion; not without
 the indignation of honest men, who knew
 that the violence used against those poor
 people, was not for piety and religion, but
 to satiate the covetousness of DIANA VA-
 LENTINA, the king's mistress, to whom
 he had given all the confiscations of goods
 made in the kingdom for the cause of he-
 resie. It was wondered also, adds he, that
 those of the new reformation should meddle
 with blood for the cause of religion; for
 MICHAEL SERVETUS of Terragona, made
 a divine of a physician, renewing the old
 opinion of PAULUS SAMOSATERIUS, and
 MARCELLUS ANCIRANUS, that the Word
 of GOD was not a thing subsisting, and
 therefore that CHRIST was a pure man;
 was put to death for it at Geneva, by coun-
 sel of the ministers of Zurich, Berne, and
 Schiaffusa; and JOHN CALVIN, who was
 blam'd for it by many, wrote a book, de-
 fending, that the magistrate may punish he-
 reticks with loss of life.

It

* It is very easie for the reader to observe, * CALVIN's
upon SERVETUS's answer, that it is very *Theologic.*
concise; whereas CALVIN made a reply, *Tracts,*
consisting of above sixty pages (in a large p. 843.
letter) in *folio*, and entitled, *Brevis Refutatio* Lat. Ed.
Errorum & Impietatum MICHAELIS SER- Gen. 1573.
VETI, à ministris ecclesiæ Genevensis magnifico
Senatui sicuti jussi fuerant, oblata; i. e. A
short Confutation of the Errors and Impieties of
MICHAEL SERVETUS, as it was offered by
the ministers of the church of Geneva to the mag-
nificent Senate, in obedience to their command.

" That reply was written with a great deal
" of art, and shews the great accomplish-
" ments of CALVIN †. He concludes that † Cette ré-
" piece with these words; *Quisquis ergo vere* plique est
" & prudenter reputabit hunc illi SERVETO écrite avec
" scopum fuisse agnosceret, ut luce sanæ do- beaucoup
" ctrinæ extincta totam religionem everteret; d'art.
" i. e. *Whoever thinks justly, will acknowledge,* Bibl. Crit.
" *that the main end of MICHAEL SERVETUS,* Tom. II.
" *was to undermine the whole of religion, by ex-* P. 156.
" *tinguishing the light of sound doctrine.* But this
" accusation is merely chymical ‡. Who ‡ C'est-là
" ever undertakes to overthrow all religion, une accu-
" has no religion at all; but the reading SER- sation
" VETUS's works, and his whole conduct, tout-à-fait
" are sufficient to convince any one, that he chime-
" was fully perswaded of the truth of the re- rique. Bi-
" velation. He was an heretick, extremely blio. Cri.
" fond of his new doctrine; he maintained ibidem.
" his opinions with great heat; he was very
" imprudent, and used the most offensive
" words; he behaved himself like a mad-man
" in his confinement. Such was the character
" of SERVETUS; but I think it cannot be
" said

“ said with any shew of reason, that he designed to destroy all religion.

“ That physician made no answer to CALVIN’s reply, being contented to write some notes in the margin of that writing, and to insert several injurious words between the lines, viz. Mentiris, SIMO MAGUS, impostor, sycophanta, nebulo, perfidus, impudens, ridiculus mus, cacodæmon;” i. e. ‘*Thou liest, SIMON MAGUS, impostor, sycophant, knave, perfidious impostor, impudent, ridiculous mouse, a cacodæmon:*’ Not but that CALVIN was pretty even with him, for he calls SERVETUS, falsarius, i. e. *impostor*; obscænus canis, *obscene dog*; hispanus canis, *Spanish dog*; perfidus nebulo, *perfidious knave*, &c. SERVETUS in his marginal notes accuses CALVIN of mis-representing his sense, and imposing such a meaning on his words, which he never designed; in one of his notes he says, Quis neget a DEO patre realiter distingui Filium? *Who denies that the Son is really distinct from GOD the Father?* Et actionis proprietate distingui personas, ego apertè docui, p. 273. libri mei. *I plainly taught, that the persons were distinguished by*

* VALENTINUS GENTILIS was more cautious than a propriety of action *. “ Another of his marginal notes was expressed in these words: “ In causa tam justa sum constans, & mortem “ nihil

SERVETUS; for being imprisoned at Geneva in 1558, for the crime of heresie, at the suit of CALVIN, he called that reformer, an excellent servant of GOD, and a great divine; *Explicat. Perfid. VAL. GENTIL.* Among CALVIN’s Theological Tracts, p. 923. Ed. Genev. 1576. VALENTIN GENTIL se donna bien de garde d’imiter la conduite de SERVET, puis qu’ètaut prisonnier à Geneve l’an 1558, pour crime d’héresie, il appolla CALVIN que le poursuivoit en en justice. *Eximium DEI ministrum, & summum Theologum.* *Biblio. Ang.* p. 158.

" nihil formido, i. e. *in a cause so just I am resolved to persevere; nor am I at all afraid of death.*

" CALVIN's reply was signed by him and fourteen other divines; CALVIN subscribes first, and NICOLAUS COLLADONIUS last, which moved SERVETUS to write the following words next to their subscriptions.

" Thus * far we have had noise enough indeed, and a crowd of subscribers to CALVIN's dictates; but what places of scripture have they produced to prove what they assert concerning the Son, that he is an invisible and really distinct being. They do not shew any, nor can they ever do it. This they should have done, had they acted up to the character of ministers of the gospel, especially since they pretend to value themselves to all the world, upon nothing so much as this; That, it has always been their resolution to teach nothing but what is demonstrated from plain and solid quotations of scripture: But no such quotations can be found therein. My doctrine therefore is condemn'd by meer clamour and noise, without producing any reason or authority whatsoever; subscrib'd by MICHAEL SERVETUS, who here is alone, But who has CHRIST for his undoubted protector.

" At the very same time SERVETUS sent a Latin letter † to CALVIN (I think they

Y

" are

& ubique jactant se nihil velle docere, quod non sit solidis scripturæ locis demonstratum. At nulli tales loci nunc inveniuntur. Improbata est igitur doctrina mea solis clamoribus ratione vero nulla auctoritate nulla MICHAEL SERVETUS subscribit solus hic quidem, sed qui CHRISTUM habet protectorem certissimum.

† It has been inserted amongst CALVIN's Works. See his confutation of SERVETUS beforementioned.

* Hactenus est factis conclamatum, & magna subscriptionum hic turba. Sed quos locos isti ad statuum invibilem illum & realiter distinctum Filium quem asserunt nullos sane adducunt? Nec adducunt unquam.

Hoc decebat tantos eloqui divini ministros, qui

“ are the last lines he writ) wherein he accuses him of being ignorant of the principles of things, and that he knew nothing of this great principle, (*Omnis actio fit per contactum*) i. e. all action is done by contact. Lastly, he says that CALVIN maintains, without any reason, that the law of the decalogue is still in force *.

* Biblio.
Angl.
Tom. 2.
p. 159.

† Par des
personnes
de considération,
ibid.

“ ‘Tho’ SERVETUS was a man of a fiery temper, I can hardly believe he would have been so imprudent as to abuse CALVIN in the most shameful manner, whilst he was under confinement, had he not been advised to it by some † persons of no small consideration, who were enemies of that reformer. The thing appears to me undeniable; and I shall quote three passages that will put it out of all doubt.

** This
letter and
others of
CALVIN,
which I
shall quote
hereafter
have been
printed,
Bibl. Angl.
160.

“ First, I find these words in a letter of CALVIN to WILLIAM FAREL, dated October 26, ** CÆSAR CGMICUS *simulato per triduum morbo, in curiam tandem ascendit, ut sceleratum istum (SERVETUM) pœna eximeret. Neque enim erubuit petere, ut cognitio ad ducentos veniret: sine controversia tamen damnatus est*’. ‘CÆSAR COMICUS (one of the magistrates whom he calls so) after three days pretended indisposition, at last came into court, on purpose to save that vile fellow SERVETUS from punishment, and had the confidence to petition that his cause might come before the council of two hundred. But he was condemned nevertheless without opposition. It appears from this passage that the magistrate, called CÆSAR COMICUS by CALVIN, was a friend

' friend of SERVETUS, and used his utmost
' endeavours to save his life, and therefore
' preferr'd the petition above, in hopes that the
' council of two hundred would have attempt-
' ed to acquit that physician.

" Secondly, Here follows a second passage
" out of CALVIN's life * written by Beza". * I make
" † But the conclusion of all these contests was use of the
" this: That the desperate SERVETUS, into first edition
" whose ears one of the faction against CAL- CALVIN's
" VIN, the assessor to the chief magistrate, letters, Ge-
" whisper'd whatever (as was suppos'd) might neva,
" serve to confirm the mind of the wretched 1575.
" man in his obstinacy, was betrayed by his † Fuit au-
" own vain confidence, and found guilty of an tem ho-
" infinitive number of impious blasphemies in rum om-
" the judgment of all the *Helvetic* churches, 27 nium cer-
" *Octob.* and shewing no manner of sign of taminum
" penitance was burnt alive. iste exitus;
" ut tandem
" perditus
" ille SER-
" VETUS
" Cui etiam
" factioso-
" rum (†) u-
" nus tum
" prætoris
" assessor in
" aurem in-
" fufurrafse
" quiddam

" Thirdly, || I have found under this passage of
" BEZA. in the edition mentioned by me in the
" margin, a note written by a minister of *Gene-*
" *va* in the 16th century, and expressed in these
" words". †† ' I have receiv'd information from
" a certain person, that some of the chief of the
" council

Y 2

credebatur, quo malum perditum hominis animum obfirmaret) a vana
illa sua confidentia proditus, impietatis & infinitarum blasphemiarum
ex omnium etiam *Helveticarum* ecclesiarum sententia damnatus, 27
Octob. nullo edito pœnitentiæ signo infœlix vivus cremaretur. || S'
j'ai lu sous ce passage de BEZE, &c. *Bib. p. 161.* His name was
Perrot. †† Accepi a certo homine non defuisse tum ex præcipuis
jurisdicundi præfectis, qui ut malum animum in CALVINUM per
Hispanum exerent, auctores essent reo, ut atrocia quæque in
CALVINUM proferret, quod hoc ipsum apud certos gratiosorem
redditurum esset: Illum autem abreptum a malo spiritu blasphemias
profudisse in Domini nostri veritatem atrociores: Unde sibi ipse tan-
to certius periculum certo Dei judicio conflaverit. (†) By those
factious men BEZA means CALVIN's enemies.

' council, that they might shew their disaffe-
 ' ction to CALVIN thro' the *Spaniard*, promp-
 ' ted that defendant to utter the most injuri-
 ' ous things possible against CALVIN, insinua-
 ' ring to him, that this very conduct of his
 ' would procure him the favour of certain
 ' great men of the council; but he being put
 ' into a violent passion, was push'd on to speak
 ' horrible blasphemies against the truth of our
 ' LORD, whence he brought, by the certain
 ' judgment of GOD, a greater danger upon
 ' himself than before". It plainly appears from
 " these three passages, that SERVETUS was
 " set against CALVIN by some considerable
 " men of *Geneva*. They made him believe
 " they would save his life; but it appeared by
 " the event that it was not in their power. I
 " am apt to think that SERVETUS would have
 " made a better defence by word of mouth
 " and in writing, had he not been supported by
 " CALVIN's enemies *, *i. e.* In short, it is not
 " to be imagin'd that CALVIN and BEZA
 " have publish'd all that they knew of this mat-
 " ter; since that would, in all probability, have
 " render'd the conduct of SERVETUS less
 " obnoxious.
 " The magistrates of *Geneva* being sensible
 " that the trial of that physician was a thing
 " of the highest consequence, did not think fit
 " to give sentence, without consulting the ma-
 " gistrates of the *Protestant Cantons* of *Swit-*
 " *zerland*. They sent to them SERVETUS's
 " book printed at *Vienne*, and also the writings
 " of CALVIN, and the prisoners answers; and
 " at the same time desired to have the opi-
 " nion of their divines about that affair.

* Bblio.
 Aug. 162.
 p. Au
 reste, il ne
 faut pas
 s'imaginer
 que CAL-
 VIN &
 BEZE ay-
 ent pub-
 lié tout ce
 qu'ils fa-
 voient de
 cette affai-
 re, puisque
 cela auroit
 pu contri-
 buer à
 rendre la
 conduite
 de SER-
 VET. moins
 odieuse.

" The magistrates of *Zurich* answered, that
 " they had consulted their ministers, and in-
 " treated the council of *Geneva* to oppose stre-
 " nuously SERVETUS's heresy. Being * fully * En con-
 " perswaded (say they) that you will not suf- fiance, di-
 " fer the wicked intention of your prisoner to rent-ils,
 " have its effect, since it is altogether contra- que ne la-
 " ry to the christian religion, and occasions a isserez ve-
 " great scandal". Their letter is dated Oct. 2. nir en a-
 " vant la

The *Zurich* divines expressed themselves more fully. And because CALVIN himself gives this character of the letter from the church of *Zurich*, in a letter of his to *Farel*, which will be inserted hereafter, viz. those of *Zurich* (*Tigurini omnium vehementissimi*) are the most violent, because those of *Schaffhausen*, say they, subscribe the judgment of the *Zurich* divines, and because CALVIN thought meet to transmit it entire to posterity; amongst other matters in his *Refutatio errorum MICHAELIS SERVETI*. I should think myself guilty of a great omission, did I not make it a part of this history, and it seems to suit so well the fiery temper of that reformer, that it might be one inducement for him to give it us at large with an introduction, excusing himself for omitting the letters from the other churches. The introduction and letter follow, *Calv. Theo. Tract.*

860, 861. Gen. edit. 1576.

† **W**HEN SERVETUS had satiated † Post-
 ' himself, in venting his spleen in quam sua
 ' the most opprobrious terms, our most excel- convitia
 lent ad satiata-
 evomuit SERVETUS clarissimus senatus noster, quo certius ferret
 judicium, & minus obnoxium calumniis, ad quatuor *Helveticas* ec-
 clesias misit. *Tigurinam, Bernensem, Basiliensem, & Shafusianam,*
 déque

‘ lent senate, in order to form the more
 ‘ certain judgment how to proceed against
 ‘ him, in a way as little obnoxious to reflection as possible, sent to have the advice of
 ‘ four of the *Helvetic* churches, that of *Zurich*,
 ‘ of *Bern*, of *Basil*, and of *Schaffhausen*, and
 ‘ consulted their pastors concerning the whole
 ‘ case. That *SERVETUS* might not have
 ‘ the least shadow of pretence to complain,
 ‘ that he was undone by the multitude of articles concerted against him; we chose to
 ‘ drop his last reproaches, rather than take
 ‘ that to ourselves, which we might lawfully
 ‘ have

déque totâ causâ, earum consuluit pastores. Ne conqueri posset *SERVETUS* se multiplici concertatione à nobis obrui, ultimas ejus calumnias relinquere intactas maluimus, quam nobis sumere quod jure nostro licebat. Quinetiam agnoscent lectores, ita nos brevitati studuisse, ut non tantum, ab omni furo procul abfuerimus, sed parcius quàm res ferebat, nos continuerimus intra justæ expositionis metas. Nempe quò simplex, & perspicua veritas in conspectum judicum veniret, breviter tantum delibavimus summa capita; ut faciliè appareat nos usque esse progressos, quò officii necessitas cogebat; venerandi autem fratres nostri, quos fuisse consultos diximus, quum pro singulari sua pietate, & eximio in ecclesiam *CHRISTI* studio, strenuam legendis omnibus operam navassent, (quod ferebat eorum fides) cordatè responderunt, totum librum detestabile esse monstrum ex innumeris erroribus conflatum. Denique uno omnes consensu, & quasi uno ore pronuntiarunt, non minus sincerè quàm justè reprehensos à nobis fuisse errores, quorum causa clamabat *SERVETUS* sibi plusquam atrocem fieri injuriam. Itaque supervacuum fore putavi singula responsa ordine recensere. Tantum ut sciretur nihil amplificandi causa à me hîc fuisse dictum, *Tigurina* ecclesiae epistolam tamquam specimen proponere libuit, quæ adeò nihil ab aliis diversum continet, ut inspecta liquidam omnium fidem factura sit. Nec vereor ut reliqui in malam partem accipiant, suas esse suppressas, quasi par honor non fuerit illis habitus. Nihil enim illis minus propositum fuit quàm se mundo venditare; & hoc sancti consensus testimonium longè pluris ipsis fore scio, quam siquid singuli privatum, & singulare haberent. Magis à fratribus nostris *Tigurinis* petenda erit venia, quod passim legenda profero, quæ paucis scripserant. Sed quia sic postulat publica ecclesiae utilitas, quæ apud illos præponderat, meæ fiduciæ, ut spero, faciliè ignoscent.

‘ have done. Besides, our readers will readily
‘ acknowledge, that we have so far studied
‘ brevity, as not only to keep ourselves free
‘ from false glosses, but that we have hand-
‘ led matters more sparingly than what the
‘ nature of them would in reality bear us out
‘ in; and that we contain’d ourselves within
‘ the limits of a just exposition. Nor that
‘ the truth might come before the judges
‘ with the utmost simplicity and clearness; we
‘ only briefly touch upon the main heads,
‘ that it might evidently appear that we pro-
‘ ceeded no further than the necessity of our
‘ office constrain’d us to. When therefore our
‘ reverend brethren had, according to their
‘ own singular piety, and their distinguish’d
‘ affection for the church of CHRIST, dili-
‘ gently perus’d and consider’d the whole af-
‘ fair of SERVETUS, they wisely return’d
‘ this for an answer; That the whole book
‘ was a detestable monster, made up of innu-
‘ merable errors. In short, they all with one
‘ heart and one voice gave it as their opinion,
‘ that the errors, for the sake of which SER-
‘ VETUS made such loud complaints of the
‘ cruel injustice done him, were censur’d by us
‘ with no less faithfulness than justice. Thinking
‘ therefore it would be superfluous to insert the
‘ answers of each church singly; I content my
‘ self, lest I should be thought to affect pro-
‘ lixity, only to give to the publick, the
‘ epistle from the church of *Zurich*, which may
‘ serve as a specimen of the others, from which
‘ it contains nothing different; and in it you
‘ may see the faith of all the rest: Nor am I
‘ at all afraid that the other churches will take
‘ it amiss that their epistles are suppress’d, as
‘ if

' if they had not equall honour done to them;
 ' for the vain-glorious applause of the world
 ' they had not the least in view; and I am
 ' well assur'd that this testimony of their holy
 ' agreement will be of much more account
 ' with them, than if each of them had had
 ' their sentiments made publick by themselves.
 ' I should rather ask pardon of my *Zurichian*
 ' brethren, for publishing that to the world,
 ' which they wrote to a few. But because the
 ' common good of the church, which with
 ' them is of the greatest weight, doth require
 ' it, they will, I hope, easily excuse my pre-
 ' sumption.

*To our most honoured lords the Syn-
 dicks; and to the most august senate
 of the republic of GENEVA, health
 and happiness.*

' **W**E have, by this express, receiv'd your
 ' excellencies letters; together with
 ' *SERVETUS's* book, and the articles taken
 ' out of it, sign'd mutually by your preachers,
 ' our venerable, and dear brethren; and by
 ' *MICHAEL SERVETUS*. And because your
 ' piety demanded from us, that we should care-
 ' fully examine, diligently consider, all those
 ' things, and give our judgment upon them;
 ' we

*Clarissimis Syndicis & amplissimo senatui Genevensis, reipublicis dominis
 nostris colendissimis f. p.*

A Ccepimus per hunc tabellionem literas amplitudinis vestrae una
 cum libro *SERVETI*, & articulis ex ipso consignatis, cum
 collatione scriptâ, per vestros concionatores fratres nostros vene-
 rabiles

' we with all due deference to your lordships,
 ' will lay before your excellencies (with the
 ' assistance of GOD) our sentiments concern-
 ' ing this whole affair, of the unity and tri-
 ' nity of GOD, of the mystery of the Son of
 ' GOD, and what we judge concerning the
 ' controversy, and writings of the ministers of
 ' your church, and of SERVETUS, with all
 ' the brevity and perspicuity possible. We
 ' make no manner of scruple to acknowledge
 ' the adorable mystery of the unity and trinity
 ' of GOD blessed for ever, to have existed
 ' from the beginning of the world: That this
 ' was firmly believ'd by all the saints, and
 ' faithfully handed down to be believed by
 ' posterity, and openly declar'd in the scrip-
 ' tures by prophets truly inspir'd by the Holy
 ' Ghost. This main principle of true theology
 ' has been so sufficiently confirm'd by the ora-
 ' cles of GOD, establish'd by such evident
 ' signs, and so unanimously receiv'd by the ca-
 ' tholick and orthodox church, as well of the
 ' old as of the new testament, that it has been
 ' always look'd on as a great piece of wicked-
 ' ness,

Z

rabiles, & charos, & MICHAELM SERVETUM. Ac quoniam
 illa omnia à nobis inspicere diligenter expendi, & nostrum de his judi-
 cium adjicere pietas vestra postulavit, amplitudini vestræ morem ge-
 rentes, quid de toto hoc negotio unitatis & trinitatis DEI, denique
 de filij DEI mysterio sentiamus, & doceamus, ac quid de contro-
 versia, & scriptis ministrorum ecclesiæ vestræ, & SERVETI judice-
 cemus, quanta possumus brevitate, & perspicuitate, amplitudini ve-
 stræ, DEO juvante, explicabimus. Mysterium adorandum unitatis
 & trinitatis DEI benedicti in secula nihil dubitamus ab exordio
 mundi ab omnibus sanctis & creditum esse firmiter, & posteris cre-
 dendum fideliter traditum; sed & in scripturas manifestè relatum, à
 spiritu sancto inspiratis veracibus prophetis. Hoc ergo theologiæ
 veræ principium, & caput ita est comprobatum DEI oraculis, ita
 confirmatum evidentibus signis, unanimique consensione receptum
 à catholica & orthodoxa, tam veteris quam novi testamenti ecclesiæ,
 ut

ness, so much as to call it in question. We therefore acknowledge with the holy and universal church of GOD, that the essence of GOD is one, that there are three persons distinct, not confus'd; for the Father testified from heaven of his own Son, This is my beloved Son (says he) in whom I am well pleased. He is the son to whom the father bore that testimony, and the Holy Ghost appear'd in the form of a dove, three distinct divine persons indeed in one essence. There arose, it's true, before the council of Nice, PRAXEAS, NOETHUS, and SABELLIUS, who were call'd by the ancients *Patripassians*, who to preserve the unity of GOD confounded the distinction of persons. But they were learnedly and irrefragably confuted by the watchful guides of the church, and the adorable mystery of the trine-unity of GOD was defended by the scriptures, and preserv'd in the church. From whence it is certain, that the guides of the church, in the *Nicene* council, deliver'd no other creed to us, than that which the catholick and orthodox church retain'd from the times of the apostles, yea, even

ut ipsum vel in questionem vocare nefas semper fuerit iudicatum. Fatemur itaque cum sancta, & universali ecclesia DEI, unam esse DEI essentiam, tres personas distinctas, non confusas. Pater enim de cælis testificans de Filio suo, hic est Filius meus dilectus (inquit) in quo placatus sum. Filius est cui Pater tulit testimonium: Spiritus Sanctus vero in specie apparuit columbæ, tres quidem distinctæ in una essentia personæ divinæ. Emerferunt quidem ante concilium *Nicenum*, PRAXEAS, NOETHUS, & SABELLIUS, veteribus nuncupati *Patripassiani*, qui distinctionem personarum propter unitatem DEI conservandam confundebant. Sed doctè & irrefragabiliter à vigilibus ecclesiæ præsidibus sunt confutati, scripturisq; propugnatum, & in ecclesia conservatum adorandum trinæ unitatis DEI mysterium. Unde certum est in concilio *Niceno* ecclesiæ præfides non aliud nobis symbolo condito tradidisse, quam quod à temporibus

' even of the prophets. Since therefore that
 ' *Spaniard* SERVETUS, often calls the co-
 ' eternal trinity of GOD a three-headed mon-
 ' ster, and a certain tripartite *Cerberus*, since he
 ' calls the trinity imaginary gods, illusions,
 ' and three spirits of *Demons*, he does most
 ' wickedly and horribly blaspheme the eternal
 ' majesty of GOD. And in that he calls
 ' ATHANASIUS, AUGUSTIN, and other
 ' excellent servants of GOD, and illustrious
 ' lights of the church, trinitarians, and so of
 ' course atheists (for so he stiles all who ac-
 ' knowledge a trinity.) He doth not only most
 ' unworthily revile these, but the whole body
 ' of the saints, and consequently the whole
 ' church of CHRIST, with the most wicked,
 ' and intolerable reproaches. What likewise
 ' appears most abominable in the unhappy
 ' man, is, that he should excuse the blasphemies
 ' of the *Jews* uttered against the christian
 ' religion, and that he should not only approve
 ' but applaud those vile words of MAHOMET,
 ' that the three persons in the trinity, or as he
 ' himself says, the three gods who were un-
 ' known to the fathers of the *Jews*, were the

Z 2

' sons .

temporibus apostolorum, imo & prophetarum catholica, & ortho-
 doxa retinuerat ecclesia. Quod ergo SERVETUS *Hispanus* trinita-
 tem coeternam DEI triceps monstrum, ac cerberum quendam tri-
 partitum, denique deos imaginarios, illusiones ac tres spiritus de-
 moniorum appellat, æternam DEI majestatem nefandè & horri-
 biliter blasphemat. Quod ATHANASIUM, AUGUSTINUM, &
 alios DEI servos eximios, illustriæque ecclesiæ lumina, trinitarios,
 atque adeò atheos nuncupat (ita enim omnes trinitatem agnoscentes
 vocat) non illos tantum, sed totum chorum sanctorum, adeoque totam
 CHRISTI ecclesiam nefandis, & non ferendis convitiis indignissimè
 proscindit, abominandum verò illud esse videtur in homine infælici,
 quod *Judeorum* quoque blasphemias in christianam religionem effu-
 sas excusat, & fæda hæc verba MAHOMETIS, tres in trinitate per-
 sonas, vel, ut ipse ait, tres deos patribus ignotos fuisse, & esse filios
Beelzebub,

‘ sons of *Beelzebub*. What more impious against GOD, and what more unworthy of our pure christian faith, could possibly come from this wretch? What christian ears, we beseech you, can hear these things with patience? The church of GOD has unanimously believed and taught the doctrine concerning the Son of GOD; that he subsisted from the beginning, from eternity in his proper hypostasis. For this was taught out of the word of GOD, the LORD himself openly declaring in the gospel, before ABRAHAM was I am, by the substance not of flesh indeed, but by the substance of divinity. According to which the apostle calls him the express image of his father’s substance, where he likewise quotes that testimony out of the old scriptures, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*. This Son, who is the Son of GOD from eternity, true GOD, in time became the Son of man, true man: born not of the substance of GOD the father, but of the substance of the virgin MARY his mother, whom GOD by his spirit made pregnant, from whence he, the Son, is call’d
‘ the

Beelzebub, approbat, & extollit. Quid verò potuisset ab hoc homine magis impium in DEUM, & indignius in intermeratam fidem christianam expui? Quæ obsecro aures christianæ ista patienter audiant? De filio DEI concorditer credidit, & docuit ecclesia DEI, ab initio subsistere illum ab æterno in propria hypostasi, hoc enim docta fuerat ex verbo DEI, domino ipso apertissimè in evangelio dicente; antequam ABRAHAM esset, ego sum; utique substantia non carnis quidem, sed divinitatis. Juxta quam apostolus dicit illum esse expressam imaginem substantiæ paternæ; ubi simul illud ex veteri scriptura citat testimonium, *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*. Hic Filius qui est ab æterno DEI Filius, DEUS verus in tempore factus est hominis filius, homo verus; natus non ex substantia DEI patris, sed ex substantiæ MARIÆ virginis matris, quam DEUS spiritu suo

the blessed seed of the woman, and the offspring of DAVID, and the son of man, altho' the person remains in one undivided, yet retaining two natures unmix'd, or not confused, divine and humane. This is a truth prov'd long ago by such perspicuous and plain testimonies of scripture, and appears now so manifest, that he that doubts of it, is mad with his wits about him. We therefore with simplicity and unanimity firmly believe, as we have already explain'd ourselves; and we preach the same common faith in the church. SERVETUS therefore is again convicted of being a blasphemer against the Son of GOD: who is not afraid of villifying the hypostasis of the Son which was existing, and co-essential and co-equal to the Father, as if it was no more than a diabolical idea, and a certain fabulous *Chimæra*. Besides, he is so impudent as to assert, that the Father of the corporeal Son, was no other than GOD the Father himself, of whose substance the flesh of the Son was born. PAUL, the teacher of the *Gentiles*, taught far otherwise, who said that the Son of GOD was
begot-

suo fœcundam reddidit; unde filius ille, & semen benedictum mulieris, & germen DAVIDIS, & filius hominis appellatur. Manet autem, in una indivisa persona, retinens tamen naturas duas impermixtas aut inconfusas, divinam & humanam; id quod adeo perspicuis & evidentibus scripturæ testimoniis comprobatum jam olim, & nunc esse constat, ut qui addubitet, cum ratione insaniat. Nos igitur simpliciter, & concorditer, ita ut jam exposuimus, firmiter credimus, & in ecclesia fidei nostræ concredita prædicamus. Rursus ergo blasphemus in DEI Filium deprehenditur SERVETUS, qui illam ab æterno Filii hypostasin, existentem, & Patri co-essentialem, & co-æqualem, & diabolicam ideam, & fabulosam quandam chimæram convitiari non veretur. Insuper asserere audet, corporalis Filii Patrem alium non esse ullum quam ipsum DEUM Patrem, ex cujus substantia caro filii nata sit longè, aliter docuit doctor *Gentium*
PAULUS,

' begotten of the seed of DAVID according
 ' to the flesh, and declared the Son of GOD,
 ' with the power, and spirit of sanctifica-
 ' tion. But why should we go on to recollect
 ' the particular blasphemies of that man?
 ' The pastors and doctors of your church have,
 ' with great diligence and faithfulness, collected
 ' his several enormous errors, and flagrant he-
 ' resies; in that writing, which bears this ti-
 ' tle, Sentences or propositions extracted from
 ' MICHAEL SERVETUS's books. We find
 ' that they were not extracted, or sign'd thro'
 ' malice, and we are so far from receiving or
 ' approving of them, that we rather abhor
 ' and execrate them; for SERVETUS, by his
 ' answers immediately subjoin'd to them, has
 ' not explain'd, but intricated the matter, by
 ' putting a wrong sense upon many passages of
 ' the ancients, about the unity and trinity of
 ' GOD, and the mystery of the Son of GOD,
 ' as the ministers of your church have by their
 ' answer abundantly evinced. The replies and
 ' glosses of SERVETUS have nothing in them
 ' but extreme impudence and cursed reproach-
 ' es. He so often throws his favourite (*Mentiris*)

' thou

PAULUS, qui dixit filium DEI genitum fuisse ex semine DAVID
 secundum carnem, & declaratum Filium DEI in potentia & spiritu
 sanctificationis. Cæterum cur singula istius hominis blasphemi re-
 colligere pergeremus? Satis diligenter, & fideliter enormes aliquot
 istius errores & apertas hæreses collegerunt ecclesiæ vestræ pastores,
 & doctores, eo scripto cui titulum præfixerunt, sententiæ, vel pro-
 positiones excerptæ ex libris MICHAELIS SERVETI; eas nec per
 calumniam excerptas invenimus, aut consignatas, nec illas ulla ra-
 tione recipimus, aut approbamus, sed execramur potius. Nam
 SERVETUS responsione sua mox subjecta rem involvit, non ex-
 plicavit; depravatis multis veterum interim de unitate, & trinitate
 DEI, deque Filii DEI mysterio sententiis. Id quod ministri eccle-
 siæ vestræ satis perspicuè opposita responsione evicerunt. Replicatio-
 nes vel scholia SERVETI, præter extremam impudentiam, & con-
 vicia

'liest at *CALVIN*. He so often reviles him
 'with being a magician, *SIMON MAGUS*, that
 'we grieve and blush to repeat it; especially
 'since the thing itself, and the writings of
 '*SERVETUS* thoroughly examin'd, sufficient-
 'ly testify that *CALVIN* forg'd nothing false
 'against him; whereas *SERVETUS* rather
 'denied the things he had asserted, and gave
 'a false colouring to them. Nor do we at all
 'doubt but that the singular faith and care of
 'your pastor and our brother *CALVIN*, to-
 'gether with his egregious merit towards ex-
 'iles, and other pious people, will appear too
 'bright in the eyes of your eminencies, and
 'other good men, to be obscur'd by the cri-
 'minations of such a fellow as *SERVETUS*.
 'And this appears sufficiently by your excel-
 'lencies letter, in which to our great satisfa-
 'ction, you say that you don't desire our opi-
 'nion out of any diffidence of the ministers of
 'your church, but rather that our judgment
 'in these affairs might not be altogether un-
 'known. Now in what manner you may use
 'a coercive power upon this man, who re-
 'vives those heresies that were formerly ex-
 'ploded

vicia dira, parum aut nihil habent. Toties enim suum illud *Menti-*
ris CALVINO, impingit, toties magum, & *SIMONEM MAGUM*
 criminatur, ut meminisse pigeat, ac pudeat; præsertim quum res
 ipsa clamet, & scripta *SERVETI* diligenter expensa testentur, ni-
 hil confinxisse *CALVINUM*. *SERVETUM* potius ea quæ dixit,
 rursus negare, ac fuco aliquo tingere *CALVINI* pastoris vestri &
 fratris nostri fidem, & diligentiam, denique egregia in exules, &
 pios merita, illustriora esse speramus, quam quæ istius criminationi-
 bus indignissimis, vel apud amplitudinem vestram vel apud alios
 viros bonos obscurari possit: Neque hoc dissimulat amplitudo ve-
 stra, quæ (quod non sine animi lætitia legimus) disertè scriptis literis
 significat iudicium à nobis non requirere, quòd ecclesiæ vestræ mi-
 nistris diffidat, sed potius ut nostrum quoque de iis non nesciat ju-
 dicium. Porro quomodo amplitudo vestra coerceat hunc homi-
 nem,

' ploded and condemn'd by the church accord-
 ' ing to the scriptures, and opposes the main
 ' establish'd principles of our faith, by which
 ' opposition he reproaches God and his saints,
 ' we leave to your judgment to determine. If
 ' we are not mistaken in the name, this SER-
 ' VETUS begun this mischief above twenty
 ' years ago, when JOHANNES OECOLAMP-
 ' ADIUS, of blessed memory, endeavour'd to
 ' reclaim the man. And then likewise the do-
 ' ctrine of SERVETUS was condemn'd by
 ' those who first preached the gospel of
 ' CHRIST in those parts. But he, tenacious
 ' of his sentiments, did nevertheless take care
 ' to publish in *Germany*, in the year 1531,
 ' seven books concerning errors about the tri-
 ' nity, and some dialogues, by which no doubt,
 ' a great many not well vers'd in the scrip-
 ' tures, and weak in the faith, were pre-
 ' cipitated into great danger both as to body
 ' and soul: And yet, as if he was not content
 ' with this, he goes on to outdo himself in im-
 ' piety and blasphemy, by reprinting the most
 ' pestilent errors, and unsufferable blasphemies,
 ' obtru-

nem, qui olim ab ecclesia per scripturas, convictas, & damnatas
 hæreses renovat, ac prima fidei nostræ firma capita oppugnat, op-
 pugnantique Deo & sanctis ejus convitiatur, vestræ prudentiæ
 æstimandum relinquimus. Si non fallit nos similitudo nominis, mo-
 vit hic SERVETUS hoc ingens malum ante annos viginti, co-
 nante tum beatæ memoriæ domino JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIO
 ipsum reducere in viam. Ac tunc quoque doctrina SERVETI ab
 iis qui primi hisce regionibus evangelium CHRISTI prædicarunt,
 condemnata fuit. Ille vero tenax sui sensus, nihilominus anno 1531.
 Curavit edi in *Germania*, septem libros de trinitatis erroribus, &
 aliquot dialogos; quibus dubium non est quam plures parum ex-
 ercitatos in scripturis, & infirmiores in fide, præcipientes actos in gra-
 ve tum animarum, tum corporum discrimen. Quo tamen adeo
 non fuit satius, ut modò recisus pestilentissimis erroribus, & blas-
 phemiis non ferendis, semetipsum in impietate & blasphemia supe-
 rare,

obtruding on the church the most corrupt doctrine, under the specious title of the re-stitution of christianity. We are therefore of opinion that we ought to use all our faith and diligence in opposition to this man; especially since our churches are evil spoken of abroad, as if they were heretical, and favour'd hereticks. The holy providence of GOD therefore has put an opportunity into your hands of purging yourselves, together with us, from the vile suspicion of so great an evil, viz. If ye shall take effectual care to put a stop to the growing contagion of this person, which we doubt not but you will do to all intents and purposes.

May the Lord JESUS CHRIST add wisdom and courage to your piety, and shew you the reasonable and just way of doing his will to the glory of his name, and the preservation of the true faith and his church. We present and recommend ourselves and services to your excellencies. We were oblig'd to detain the express three whole days, because we could not explain ourselves sooner.

ZURICH, 21 Oct.
1553.

Your Lordships

Devoted Servants

*The PASTORS, and READERS,
Ministers of the Church at
ZURICH.*

A a

“ THE

rare, & corruptissimam doctrinam sub specie restitutionis christianismi ecclesiæ obtrudere pergat. Multa ergo fide, ac diligentia contra hunc opus esse judicamus: præsertim quum ecclesiæ nostræ apud externos male audiant, quasi hæreticæ sint, & hæreticis faveant. Ob-
tulit

tulit vero in præfenti sancta DEI providentia occasionem repurgandi vos, simul ac nos à prava mali hujus suspicione; si videlicet vigilantes fueritis, diligentèrque caveritis ne veneni hujus contagio per hunc serpat latius. Id quod facturos vos nihil dubitamus.

Dominus JESUS CHRISTUS conferat pietati vestræ sapientiam & fortitudinem, viam rationem, & modum justum faciendi voluntatem ejus ad gloriam, nominis ipsius, & ad fidei sinceræ, ecclesiæque conservationem. Simul offerimus amplitudini vestræ nostra obsequia, commendamusque iidem nos omnes. Cæterum per tres dies integros tabellionem hunc vestrum detinuimus, quod non potuerimus nos citius explicare.

Data TIGURI,
21 Octob. anno
D M LIII.

Vestre amplitudini dediti
PASTORES & LECTORES,
Ministri Ecclesiæ TIGURINÆ.

Bibl. Ang.
P. 164.

“ THE council of *Schafausen* answered
“ the 6th of *Octob.* That they had
“ referred the examination of that affair to
“ their ministers, whose opinion they might
“ know by their letter. Those divines ha-
“ ving express’d their abhorrence of SERVE-
“ TUS’s errors, conclude with these words;
“ Nor do we doubt, but that through your
“ great prudence * you will oppose his design,
“ and hinder his blasphemies from preying,
“ like a cancer, any longer upon the members
“ of CHRIST. For to pretend to answer his
“ extravagancies by long arguments, would be
“ acting madly with a madman’. “ They
“ add, that they subscribe to the judgment
“ of the *Zurich* divines.

* Neque
dubitamus
quin vos
pro insigni
prudentia
vestrâ
ipsius con-
natus re-
pressuri si-
tis, ne
blasphemæ
ipsius tanquam
cancer latius
depasceantur
CHRISTI mem-
bra. Nam longis
rationibus evertere
ipsius deliramenta,
quid aliud
esset quam cum
insaniente insanire.

miæ ipsius tanquam cancer latius depasceantur CHRISTI membra. Nam longis rationibus evertere ipsius deliramenta, quid aliud esset quam cum insaniente insanire.

Bibl. Ang.
P. 165.

“ As for what concerns the magistrates of
“ *Basil*, they answered in a few words, that
“ they had left that affair to the consideration
“ of

“ of their divines. Their answer is dated *Oct. 12.*

“ The ministers of *Basil* in a letter bearing the
“ same date, testify their abhorrence for SER-
“ VETUS's heresy, and then add ” :

‘ *Lastly*, * We exhort you to use your ut- * *Postre-*
‘ most endeavour to reclaim him, provided *mo quod*
‘ the scandal he has occasioned may be remo- *SERVE-*
‘ ved. But if he continues to be incurable, *TUM atti-*
‘ let him be so restrained (as it is your duty, *net, hor-*
‘ and according to the power you have recei- *tatur, ut*
‘ ved from the LORD) that for the time to *quod face-*
‘ come he may do no harm to the church of *re vos op-*
‘ CHRIST, lest the end should prove worse *ortet omi-*
‘ than the beginning. To that end the LORD *ne studi-*
‘ himself will give you his spirit, and strength, *um in ip-*
‘ and wisdom, &c. *so sanan-*
‘ *do adhi-*
‘ *beatīs,*
‘ *modo quæ*
‘ *excitavit*

offendicula, & ipsa sanari queant. Verum si insanabilis in concepta
semel perversitate perstet, sic pro officio vestro, potestateque a DO-
MINO concessa coerceatur, ne dare incommodum queat deinceps
ecclesiæ CHRISTI, neve fiant novissima primis deteriora. Qua in
re suppeditabit DEUS ipse spiritum, robur, & sapientiam, &c.

“ The magistrates of *Berne* answered, that *ibid. p.*
“ they had consulted their divines, and de- *166.*
“ fired the magistrates of *Geneva* to prevent
“ the progress of errors ”.

‘ We † desire you (say they) not doubting † *Vous*
‘ that you are inclined to it, to take care that *prions*
‘ such errors, or the like, be not sowed in the *comme ne*
‘ church of JESUS CHRIST our only Savi- *doutons*
‘ our ; by which means you will preserve her *point a ce*
‘ from trouble and adversity, and promote the *être en-*
‘ glory of GOD’. *clins, de*
‘ *toujours*
‘ *tenir main*

que les erreurs & sectes, comme les dites sont, ou semblables, ne
soient semées en l'eglise de JESUS CHRIST, nostre seul Sau-
veur ; & par ce garderez de trouble & adversité, & sa gloire avan-
cerez & augmenterez. *Bibl. Ang. p. 166.*

* If I am
not missta-
ken, that
letter was
dated

Octo. 6.

† Oramus

DOMI-

NUM ut

det vobis

spiritum

pruden-

tia, con-

fili

alii

incon-

divines

116. &

logiens

avec

de

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

1575.

* The ministers of Berne expressed them-
selves in these words † ‘ We pray God
that he would be pleased to give you the
spirit of prudence, wisdom, and courage,
that you may remove this plague, not on-
ly from your own church, but also from all
others, and at the same time not to do any
thing that is unworthy of christian magi-
strates’. That letter is only dated in the
year 1553, ††.

fili & fortitudinis, ut & pestem hanc ab ecclesiis cum vestra tum
aliis avertatis, & simul nihil admittatis, quod magistratui christiano
inconveniens censeretur possit, p. 167. †† The four letters of the di-
vines of Switzerland have been printed among those of CALVIN, pag.
116. & seq. of the Geneva edition, 1575. Les quatre lettres des theo-
logiens des theologiens suisses, dont on viene de parler ont ete imprimees
avec celles de CALVIN, p. 116. & Suiv. de l’ edition de Geneve, 1575.

“ When SERVETUS was imprison’d, CAL-
VIN writ a letter (of the 20th of August)
“ to his friend William Farel, minister of the
“ church of Neufchatel, whereby he acquaint-
“ ed him with it”.

|| Jam no-
vum ne-
gorium
habemus
cum SER-
VETO hac
transire
forte cogi-
tabat.
Necdum
enim sci-
tur quo
consilio venerit. Sed cum agnitus fuisset, retinendum putavi. NI-
COLAUS meus ad capitale judicium, poenae talionis se offerens, ip-
sum vocavit. Quadraginta accusationis capita postridie in medium
scripta attulit, Tergiversatus est initio. Itaque vocati sumus. Pro-
terve mihi convitiatus est, non secus ac si haberet sibi obnoxium.
Ego, ut dignus erat, eum excepi, tandem pronunciavit senatus ca-
pita omnia probata esse. Dimissus est e carcere NICOLAUS die
tertio, cum fratrem meum sponforem dedisset, quarto absolutus est
Spero capitale saltem fore judicium : Poenae vero atrocitatem remitti
cupio. CALVIN epist. pag. 114. Geneva 1575.

“ We || are now, says he, engaged with SER-
VETUS. Perhaps he only designed to go
thro’ this city ; for we don’t know yet what
reason moved him to come hither. He has
been discovered, and I have been of opinion
that he should be arrested. He is prosecu-
ted by NICOLAS (de la FONTAINE) who
brought the next day forty heads of ac-
cusation

' cufation * againft him, offering himfelf to be * CALVIN
' tried by the *lex talionis*. At firft he varied ^{should}
' in his answers; and therefore I was fent for. ^{have said}
' He abufed me, as if he had had great inju- 38.
' ftice done him. I have treated him as he
' deferves. At laft the magiftrates have de-
' clared that all the articles have been proved
' againft him. NICOLAS was fet at liberty
' three days after; and on the fourth he was
' acquitted, my brother being fecurity for
' him — I hope SERVETUS will be con-
' demned to death; but I wifh the feverity of
' his punifhment may be foftned.

" FAREL answered CALVIN in a letter † Mira eft
" dated *Octob. 8.*" † 'Tis a wonderful provi- DEI dif-
' dence (fays he) that SERVETUS ſhould penfatio
' come to *Geneva*. I wifh he may repent in SER-
' though never fo late. It will be a mighty VETO,
' thing if he dies a true penitent, undergoing quod iftuc
' but one death, though he deferves to die a venerit.
' thouſand times; and if he endeavours to Utinam
' edify the ſpectators, having made it his bu- vel fero
' finefs to pervert many people that are dead, fapiat!
' and others that are ftill living, and even Magnum
' thoſe that ſhall be born hereafter. The judges fane mira-
' muſt be very cruel, and perfect enemies of culum e-
' CHRIST and his church, if they are not rit, ſi mor-
' affected with the horrid blaſphemies with tem perfe-
' which that pernicious heretick attacks the rat ſerio
' divine majeſty, and endeavours to overthrow ad DEUM
' the goſpel, and to corrupt all the churches. converſus,
' & occum-
' bens una
' morte
' (qui mul-
' tas myria-
' das com-

' But

meritus eſt) ſi omnes contendat ædificare præſentes, qui multis jam
ſublatis & qui ſuperſunt, adde etiam venturis nocere ſtudit. Valde
crudeles erunt, & admodum injurii CHRISTO, & doctrinæ pieta-
tis, & veri eccleſiæ hoſtes judices, ſi non moveantur blaſphemiis
horrendis tam nefandi hæretici, quibus divinam majeſtatem impetit,
& CHRISTI evangelium conatus eſt labefactare, omneſque cor-
rumpere eccleſias; ſed ſpero DEUM facturum, ut qui laudantur ob
juſtas

“ But I hope that those, who are commended
 “ for inflicting a just punishment upon thieves
 “ and sacrilegious persons, will do their duty
 “ in this case, by taking off a man who has
 “ so long and so obstinately persisted in his he-
 “ resy, and undone so many people. In desi-
 “ ring that the severity of the punishment
 “ should be moderated ; you act the part of a
 “ friend towards a man who is your great ene-
 “ my. But I beseech you to behave yourself
 “ in such a manner, that no one may be so
 “ bold for the time to come as to publish new
 “ doctrines, and occasion so much disturbance
 “ as this man has done”. “ It appears from
 “ this passage that FAREL was a violent di-
 “ vine ; which is altogether contrary to the
 “ spirit of christianity. FAREL adds, That
 “ he has frequently offered to suffer death, in
 “ imitation of St. PAUL, if he taught any
 “ thing contrary to the gospel doctrine, and
 “ that he has declared he should deserve the
 “ greatest punishment, if he should bring off
 “ any body from the faith and doctrine of
 “ JESUS CHRIST ; so that he cannot be
 “ more indulgent to others than to himself.
 “ On the 9th of September CALVIN wrote a
 “ letter to SULCERUS, a divine of *Swisser-*
 “ *land*. CALVIN tells him that he has, doubt-
 “ less, heard of SERVETUS ; that he is the
 “ same person of whom BUCER (tho’ other-
 “ wise a moderate man) said in the pulpit,
 “ that

Ibid. 167.

Bibl. Ang.
P. 172.

iustas inflictas furibus & sacrilegis pœnas, ita se gerant, ut in hac par-
 te merito bene audiant, sublato eo, qui tandiu obstinatissime in hæ-
 resibus perseveravit, quique tam multos perdidit. Quod pœnæ atro-
 citatem leniri cupis, facis amici officium in inimicissimum tibi homi-
 nem. Sed te, quæso, ita geras, ne temere quivis audeat nova in-
 ferre in publicum dogmata & tandiu omnia turbare impune, ut iste
 fecit. Ubi supra, pag. 116.

" that he deserved to have his entrails plucked
 " out, and to be torn in pieces". *Is est de*
 " *quo fidelis CHRISTI minister & sanctæ memo-*
 " *riæ D. BUCERUS, cum alioqui mansueto esset*
 " *ingenio, pro suggestu pronunciavit, dignum esse,*
 " *qui avulsis visceribus discerperetur. CALVIN*
 " adds, that SERVETUS was seiz'd and im-
 " prison'd by his means. *Tandem huc malis au-*
 " *spiciis appulsum unus ex syndicis, Me Auctore*
 " *in carcerem duci jussit. Neque enim dissimulo*
 " *quin officii mei duxerim hominem plusquam obsti-*
 " *natum & indomitum, quoad in me erat, com-*
 " *pescere ne longius manaret contagio, i. e.* Nor do
 " I at all pretend, but that I really thought it
 " my duty to do all that lay in my power to
 " crush such an obstinate, and irreclaimable
 " fellow, that the contagion might spread no
 " further". " Afterwards CALVIN repre-
 " sents to SÜLCERUS, that the prisoner is
 " guilty of the most pernicious errors that can
 " be thought on ; and that he was so far from
 " expressing any repentance, that he insisted
 " upon them with insupportable pride and ob-
 " stinacy. The design of this letter does
 " plainly appear from these expressions".
 " *Sed quia tibi curæ fore spero, ut hominis impie-*
 " *tas quibus meretur elogiis pingatur, plura non ad-*
 " *dam. Tantum unius rei te admonitum volo,*
 " *quæstorem urbis, qui tibi has litteras reddet, in*
 " *hac causa recto esse animo, ut saltem exitum quem*
 " *optamus non fugiat. Utinam veteres tui discipuli*
 " *eodem modo animati forent.* But because I hope
 " you will take care to represent the impiety
 " of the man as it deserves, I will add no
 " more, only I give you notice of this one
 " thing, that the *Quæstor* of the city, who
 " brings these letters to you, is well affected
 " to

‘ to the cause, that at least it may not miss
 ‘ the end we wish for. I wish all your old
 ‘ disciples were animated in the same man-
 ‘ ner. CALVIN. *ep.* p. 114, *Gen.* 1575.

P. 174.

“ The 23d of *Aug.* CALVIN writ a letter
 “ to the ministers of the church of *Frankfort*;
 “ whereby he informed them, that SERVETUS
 “ had printed at *Vienne* a book full of er-
 “ rors and blasphemies; That many copies
 “ had been sent to *Frankfort* the last *Easter* fair;
 “ that the printer’s factor being a pious man,
 “ had not been willing to expose them to sale,
 “ and that the bearer of that letter would tell
 “ them in what warehouse they were to be
 “ found. *Lastly*, he desires those divines to
 “ burn all those books. He acquaints them
 “ that, — *Auctor* * *ipse tenetur in carcere a ma-*
 “ *gistratu nostro & propediem, ut spero, daturus*
 “ *est pœnas.* The author himself is clap’d up
 “ in prison by our magistrates, and doubt not
 “ but he (SERVETUS) will shortly be brought
 “ to condign punishment.

* All Co-
 pies of the
Christia-
nismi Re-
stitutio,
 except
 some few,
 were

burnt at *Vienne* and at *Frankfort*; which is the reason why that
 book is so scarce.

Bib. Ang.
 175.

“ BULLINGER, another famous divine of
 “ *Switzerland*, writ a letter to CALVIN, *ubi*
 “ *supra*, p. 127. dated *Septemb.* 14. which con-
 “ tains a remarkable passage. † The LORD
 “ (says he) has given the magistrates of *Gene-*
 “ *va* a fair opportunity of clearing themselves
 “ and the church from heresy, by delivering
 “ SERVETUS into their hands. Therefore, if
 “ they

† Obtulit
 quidem
 DOMI-
 NUS ma-
 teriam per
 occasio-
 nem ac-
 comoda-

tissimam amplissimo senatui *Genevensi* se & ecclesiam expurgandi a
 labe seu fœditate hæreseos, dum SERVETUM illum *Hispanum* in
 manus ejus dedit — Si ergo huic rependeret amplissimus senatus,
 quod

quod blasphemus nebuloni debetur, totus orbis cerneret *Genevenses* blasphemus odisse, hæreticos, qui vere sunt pertinaces hæretici, gladio justitiæ prosequi; & gloriam majestatis divinæ vindicare.

‘ they treat that rascal as he deserves; all the
 ‘ world will see that the *Genevois* hate blasphemers; that they prosecute with the sword of justice those hereticks who are truly obstinate; and that they maintain and vindicate the glory of God’. I find the following words in a letter of CALVIN to BULLINGER, dated *Octob. 25*.

‘ * ’Tis not known yet what will be the fate of that man (SERVETUS). However, as far as I can guess, the judges will condemn him to morrow, and he will be executed the next day.

* Quid de homine futurum sit, nondum scitur. Quantum ta-

men conjecturis assequor, cras feretur in curia judicium, perendie vero ad supplicium ducetur.

“ It appears to me, that the 23d of *Octo- Bibl. Ang*
 “ ber the judges were resolv’d to condemn P. 176.
 “ SERVETUS to be burnt alive. I infer it
 “ from a passage relating to that day”. † ‘ Af- † Après
 “ ter having heard the answers before men- avoir en-
 “ tion’d, and the decree of the ministers of tendu les
 “ churches; the said attainted MICHAEL respon-
 “ SERVETUS is referr’d to hear the good will ses, &
 “ of *Messieurs*, to administer justice day by day. l’arrest au-
 “ jourdhuy

faict, ensemble l’avis des sieurs ministres des eglises, l’on a remys ledit inqys MICHEL SERVET à ovir la bonne volouté de mes- sieurs, & à dire droict de jour à jour.

“ Accordingly, on the 26th of the same
 “ month, that unfortunate physician was actu-
 “ ally condemned to undergo that punishment.
 “ BEZA did not scruple to say that he was
 “ condemned *ex omnium etiam Helveticarum*
 “ *ecclesiarum sententia*, according to the judg-
 “ ment of all the churches of *Switzerland*, as
 “ before.

B b

“ On

“ On the same day, *Octob. 26.* CALVIN
 “ acquainted FAREL how SERVETUS’s case
 “ stood: That letter being very curious, I
 “ shall transcribe the greatest part of it”.
 “ The * messenger (says he) that was sent to
 “ the *Swiss*, is come back. They all unani-
 “ mously declare, that SERVETUS has revi-
 “ ved the impious errors, with which Satan
 “ did formerly disturb the church; and that he
 “ is an intolerable monster. Those of *Basil*
 “ are right. Those of *Zurich* are the most ve-
 “ hement; (*Tigurini omnium vehementissimi*) for
 “ they express the heinousness of his impiety
 “ in very emphatical words, and exhort our
 “ magistrates to use him severely. Those of
 “ *Schaffhausen* subscribe to their judgment. The
 “ letter of the divines of *Berne*, which is also
 “ to the purpose, is attended with that of their
 “ senate, whereby our magistrates have been
 “ very much animated. CÆSAR, a comical
 “ man, who pretended to be sick for three
 “ days, came to court at last to acquit that
 “ profligate fellow; for he was not ashamed to
 “ propose, that the cause should be removed
 “ to the council of two hundred. Neverthe-
 “ less he has been condemned without any di-
 “ spute. He will be executed to morrow. We
 “ have endeavoured to commute that sort of
 “ death; but it was in vain. I will tell you
 “ when
 “ * Rediit
 “ ab HEL-
 “ VETIIS
 “ nuncius.
 “ Uno con-
 “ sensu pro-
 “ nunciant
 “ omnes,
 “ SERVE-
 “ TUM im-
 “ pios erro-
 “ res, qui-
 “ bus olim
 “ turbavit
 “ Satan ec-
 “ clesiam,
 “ nunc re-
 “ novasse,
 “ & mon-
 “ strum esse
 “ non fe-
 “ rendum.
 “ Cordati
 “ *Basilien-*
 “ *sis. Tigu-*
 “ *rini om-*
 “ *nium ve-*
 “ *hementif-*
 “ *simi.* Nam
 “ & impie-
 “ tatum
 “ atrocitas
 “ graviter
 “ ab illis exprimitur, & hortantur senatum nostrum ad servitatem.
 “ Subscribunt *Schaphusiani. Bernensium* literis etiam appositis accedunt
 “ & senatus literæ, quibus non parum stimulatī sunt nostri. CÆSAR
 “ comicus simulato per triduum morbo, in curiam tandem ascendit,
 “ ut sceleratum istum pœna eximeret. Neque enim erubuit petere ut
 “ cognitio ad ducentos veniret: Sine controversia tamen damnatus est.
 “ Cras ad supplicium ducetur. Genus mortis conati sumus mutare, sed
 “ frustra. Cur nihil profecerimus, coram narrandum differo. CALV.
 “ *Ep. Bib. Ang. p. 178.*

‘ when I see you , why the judges have not
‘ granted our request.’

“ ’Tis observable, that this letter was writ-
“ ten to FAREL at *Neufchatel* the 26th of
“ *October*, and that he arrived at *Geneva* the
“ next day, and consequently before he could
“ receive it. I believe he came to *Geneva* of
“ his own motion, to be present at SERVE-
“ TUS’s execution: He had a mind to see
“ whether that heretick would edify the
“ spectators.

At last, on the 27th of *October*, SERVETUS
was sentenced * to be burnt alive.

* Le 27
Octobre

1553, Le furdit MICHAEL SERVET a esté condamné à estre
brnsle, & leuë la sentence par lé Sieur Sindiq; Darled, a esté ex-
ecutée & les livres brusles. *Bib. Ang.* p. 179.

✎ The two following pieces do perfectly
agree with the original ; only there are some
words, in which the Orthography is not
exactly the same.



Process drawn up before our most dreaded Lords the Syndics, Judges of criminal causes in this City, at the pursuit and instance of the Lord Lieutenant of the said City, against MICHAEL SERVETUS of Villanueva in the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain,

*Mem. of
Lit. Vol. 4.
Art. 51.*

WHO in the first place has been convicted of having, about twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, caused a book to be printed at *Agnon* (it should be *Haguenau*) in *Germany*, against the holy and undivided Trinity, containing many great blasphemies against it, which have occasioned a great scandal in the churches of the said *Germany*; which book he has freely confessed to have printed, notwithstanding the remonstrances made to him about his false opinions, by the learned evangelical doctors of the said *Germany*.

Item,

Proces fait & formé par devant nos très redoubtés Seigneurs Sindiques, Juges des causes criminelles de ceste Cite a la poursuite & instance du Seigneur Lieutenant de ceste dite Cite, es dites causes instant, contre MICHEL SERVET de Ville-neuve, au Royaume d' Arragon en Espagne.

LEquel premierement est esté atteint d'avoir, il y environ 23 à 24 ans, fait imprimer un livre à *Agnon* (it should be *Haguenau*) en *Allemagne* contre la sainte & individue Trinité, contenant plusieurs & grands blasphemes contre icelle, grandement scandaleux-ès eglises des dites *Alleagnes*: lequel livre li a spontanément confessé avoir fait imprimer, non obstant les remonstrances & corrections à luy faites de ses sçavaus docteurs evangelistes des dites *Allemagnes*.

Item

‘ *Item*, The said book was condemned by the doctors of the said churches of *Germany*, as being full of heresies; and the said SERVETUS ran away from the said *Germany*, on account of the said book.

‘ *Item*, Notwithstanding this, the said SERVETUS has persisted in his errors, infecting many people with them.

‘ *Item*, Not contented with this, the better to spread his venom and heresy, he has not long since caused another book to be printed privately at *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, full of the said heresies, and horrid and execrable blasphemies, against the Holy Trinity, against the Son of GOD and infant baptism, and against many other articles and fundamental points of the christian religion.

‘ *Item*,

Item, Et lequel livre a esté par les docteurs d'icelles eglises de *Allemagne*, comme plein d'heresies, reprouvé & ledit SERVET rendu fugitif des dites *Allemandes*, à cause dudit livre.

Item, Et non obstant cela led. SERVET a perseveré en ses faulces erreurs, infectant d'icelles plusieurs à son possible.

Item, Et non content de cela, pour mieux divulguer & espancher son dit venin & heresie, depuis peu de temps en ça il a fait imprimer un autre livre à cachette dans *Vienne* en *Dauphiné*, remply des dites heresies, horribles & execrables blasphemies contre la sainte Trinité, contre le Fils de DIEU, contre le baptisme des petits enfans, & autres plusieurs saint passages & fondemens de la religion chrestienne.

Item,

Item, He has freely confessed, that in the said book he calls those who believe the Trinity, Trinitarians and Atheists.

Item, He calls the Trinity a D——, and a M——ter with th——ce H——ds.

Item, Contrary to the true foundation of the christian religion, and blaspheming horribly against the Son of GOD, he says that CHRIST is not the Son of GOD from all eternity, but only from the time of his incarnation.

Item, Whereas the scripture says, that JESUS CHRIST is the Son of David, according to the flesh, he wretchedly denies it, and says he was formed of the substance of GOD the Father, having received three elements from him, and one only from the Virgin, whereby he wickedly pretends to destroy

Item, A spontanément confessé qu'en iceluy livre, il appelle ceux qui croient en la Trinité, Trinitaires & Atheistes.

Item, Et qu'il appelle icelle Trinité, un D—— & monstre à Tr——s T——tes.

Item, Et contre le vrai fondement de la religion chrestienne, & blasphemant detestablement contre le Fils de DIEU, a dit JESUS CHRIST n'estre Fils de DIEU de toute éternité, ains tant seulement depuis son incarnation.

Item, Et contre ce que dit l'écriture JESUS CHRIST estre fils de DAVID selon la chair, il le nie malheureusement, disant icelui estre créé de la substance de DIEU le Pere, ayant reçu trois elements d'icelui, & un tant seulement de la Vierge, en quoy meschamment

' destroy the true humanity of our Lord JESUS
' CHRIST, the sovereign comfort of poor
' mankind.

' *Item*, That infant baptism is a diabolical
' invention, and a mere conjuration.

' *Item*, Many other things, and execrable
' blasphemies, with which the said book is all
' over stuffed, very scandalous, and against the
' honour and majesty of GOD, the Son of
' GOD, and the Holy Spirit; which is a
' cruel and horrid murdering perdition, and
' destruction of many poor souls, that are
' spoiled by the said false and execrable do-
' ctrine; a dreadful thing to be mentioned.

' *Item*, The said SERVETUS being full of
' malice, has intituled the said book, written
' against GOD and his evangelical doctrine,
' *Christianismi Restitutio*; that is, *Christianity*
' *Re-*

ment il pretend abolir la vraye & entiere humanité de nostre Seigneur JESUS CHRIST, la souveraine consolation du povre genre humain.

Item, Et que le baptesme des petits enfans, n'est qu' une inven-
tion diabolique & forcellerie.

Item, Et plusieurs autres points & articles, & execrables blas-
phemes, desquils le dit livre est tout farci, grandement scandaleux,
& contre l' honneur & majesté de DIEU, du Fils de DIEU, & du
saint esprit: qui est un cruel & horrible meurtrissement, perdition
& ruine de plusieurs povres ames, estans par sa dessus dite deloiale
& detestable doctrine trahies; chose éponvantageable à reciter.

Item, Et lequel SERVET rempli de malice intitula iceluy son
livre, ainsi ernessé contre DIEU & sa sainte doctrine evangelique,
Christianismi Restitutio, qui est à dire, *Restitution du Christianisme*, &
ce

‘ *Restored* ; the better to seduce and deceive
 ‘ ignorant people, and that he might the more
 ‘ easily infect the readers of the said book,
 ‘ with his wretched and pernicious venom,
 ‘ under pretence of teaching a good doctrine.

‘ *Item*, Besides the said book, attacking our
 ‘ faith even with letters, and endeavouring to
 ‘ infect it with his poison, he has freely con-
 ‘ fessed and acknowledged to have writ a let-
 ‘ ter to one of the ministers of this city, in
 ‘ which, among many horrid and enormous
 ‘ blasphemies against our holy evangelical re-
 ‘ ligion, he says our gospel is without faith,
 ‘ and without a God ; and that instead of a
 ‘ God, we have a th—e H—d C—us.

‘ *Item*, He has moreover confessed, that he
 ‘ was committed to prison in the above-said
 ‘ city of *Vienne*, which he perfidiously broke,
 ‘ and made his escape.

‘ *Item*,

ce pour mieux seduire & tromper les provres ignorans, & pour plus
 commodement infecter de son mal heureux & meschant venin les
 lecteurs de son dit livre, sous l' ombre de bonne doctrine.

Item, Et outre le dessus dit livre, assaillant par lettres mesmes
 nostre foy, & mettant peine icelle infecter de sa poison, a volon-
 tairement confesse & reconnu avoir escrit lettre à un des ministres
 de cette cité, dans laquelle entre autres plusieurs horribles & enormes
 blasphemes contre nostre sainte religion evangelique, il dit nostre
 evangile estre sans foy & sans Dieu, & que pour un Dieu nous a-
 vons un C——re a tr——s t——tes.

Item, Et a davantage volontairement confesse qu' au dessus dit
 lieu de *Vienne*, a cause d' icelui meschant & abominable livre & opi-
 nions, il fut fait prisonnier ; les quelles prisons perfidement il rom-
 pit & echapa.

Item,

‘ *Item*, The said S E R V E T U S did not only
 ‘ rise up against the true christian religion,
 ‘ but like an arrogant broacher of heresies,
 ‘ against the papists and others; insomuch
 ‘ that he was burnt in effigy at *Vienne*, with
 ‘ five bales of his books.

‘ *Item*, Notwithstanding all this, being
 ‘ committed to the prison of this city, he has
 ‘ maliciously persisted in his pernicious and de-
 ‘ testable errors, endeavouring to maintain
 ‘ them with injurious words and calumnies
 ‘ against all true christians, and faithful pro-
 ‘ fessors of the pure and unspotted christian
 ‘ religion, calling them Trinitarians, Atheists
 ‘ and Conjurers, notwithstanding the remon-
 ‘ strances made to him long ago in *Germany*, as
 ‘ has been said, and tho’ he has been re-
 ‘ proved, and imprisoned here and elsewhere;
 ‘ as may be seen more at large in his trial.

Item, Et n’est seulement dressé le dit S E R V E T en sa doctrine
 contre la vraie religion chrestienne, mais comme arrogant innova-
 teur d’heresies, contre la papistique, & autres; si que à *Vienne*
 mesme il est esté brulé en effigie, & de ses dits livres cinq bales
 brûlées.

Item, Et nonobstant tout cela, estant ici ès prisons de cette de-
 tenu, n’a laissé de persister malicieusement en ses dites meschantes
 & detestables erreurs, les taschant soustenir avec injures & calom-
 nies contre tous vrais chretiens & fideles tenementiers de la pure
 immaculée religion chrestienne, lest appellant Trinitaires, Atheistes
 & Sorciers, nonobstant les remonstrances a luy dé ja dès long temps
 en *Allemagne*, comme est dit, faites, & au mepres des reprehensions,
 emprisonnemens & corrections à luy tant ailleurs qu’icy faites;
 comme plus amplement & au long est contenu en son proces.

The SENTENCE.

‘ **W**E Syndics, Judges of criminal causes
 ‘ in this city, having seen the Pro-
 ‘ cesses drawn up before us, at the instance of
 ‘ our Lieutenant, against thee, MICHAEL
 ‘ SERVETUS of *Villanueva*, in the kingdom
 ‘ of *Arragon* in *Spain*; whereby, and also by
 ‘ thy voluntary confessions made in our pre-
 ‘ sence, and repeated several times, and by
 ‘ thy books produced before us, it plainly ap-
 ‘ pears to us, that thou, SERVETUS, hast
 ‘ long ago put forth a false and heretical do-
 ‘ ctrine; and that slighting all remonstrances
 ‘ and reproofs, thou hast, with a malicious
 ‘ and wicked obstinacy, continued to spread
 ‘ and publish it, so far as to print books against
 ‘ GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy
 ‘ Ghost; in short, against the true foundation
 ‘ of the christian religion, endeavouring to
 ‘ cause a disturbance in the church of GOD,
 ‘ whereby many souls might have been de-
 ‘ stroyed

SENTENCE.

NOUS Sindiques, Juges des causes criminelles de cette cité, a-
 lians veu le Procès fait & formé par devant nous, à l’instance
 de nostre Lieutenant es dites causes instant, contre toi MICHEL
 SERVET, *Ville-neuve* au royaume d’*Arragon* en *Espagne*, par le-
 quel & tes volontaires confessions en nos mains faites, & par plu-
 sieurs fois réitérées, & tes livres devant nous produits, nous conste
 & appert tōy SERVET avoir. des long temps mis en avant do-
 ctrine fausse & pleinement heretique, & icelle mettant arriere toutes
 remonstrances & corrections, avoir d’une malicieuse & perverse
 obstination, perseveramment semée & divulguée jusques à l’impres-
 sion de livres publics, contra DIEU le Pere, le Fils, & le Saint
 Esprit; bref contre les vrais fondemens de la religion chrestienne,
 & pour cela tasché de faire schisme & trouble en l’eglise de DIEU;
 dont maintes ames ont peu estre ruinées & perdues (chose horrible
 & epouvantable, scandaleuse & infectante) & n’avoir eu honte ni
 hor-

'stroyed and undone, (a thing horrid and
 'dreadful, scandalous and infecting) and that
 'thou hast not been ashamed, nor afraid, of
 'rising up against the divine Majesty, and
 'the holy Trinity, doing thy utmost endea-
 'vours to infect the world with thy heresies,
 'and stinking heretical' poison. For these
 'causes, and others, moving us thereunto,
 'desiring to clear the church of GOD from
 'such an infection, and to cut off such a rotten
 'member; having consulted our citizens, and
 'invoked the name of GOD to give a right
 'judgment; sitting in the place of our an-
 'cestors, having GOD and his holy scripture
 'before our eyes; saying, *In the name of the*
 '*Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:*
 'By this our definative sentence, which we
 'give in writing, we condemn thee MICHAEL
 'SERVETUS to be bound, and carried to
 'the place called *Champel*, and there to be
 'fastened to a post, and burnt alive with thy
 'books, both written with thy own hand,
 'and printed, till thy body be reduced to
 'ashes;

horreur de de te dresser totalement contre la Majesté Divine & Sainte
 Trinité; ains avoir mis peine, & t'estre employé obstinément à in-
 fester le monde de tes heresies & puante poison hereticale. Cas &
 crime d'heresie grief & detestable, & meritant grievé punition cor-
 porelle. A ces causes, & autres justes à ce nous mouvantes, de-
 sirans de purger l'eglise de DIEU de tel infectement, & retrancher
 d'icelle tel membre pourri; aians eu bonne participation de conseil
 avec nos citoiens, & aians invoqué le nom de DIEU, pour faire
 droit jugement, seans pour tribunal au lieu de nos majeurs, aians
 DIEU & ses saintes escriptures devant nos yeux, disans, *Au nom du*
Pere du Fils, & du Saint Esprit: Par cette nostre definitive sentence,
 laquelle donnons ici par escrit, toy MICHEL SERVET condam-
 nons à devoir estre lié & mené au lieu de *Champel*, & la devoir
 estre à un pilotis attaché & bruslé tout vif avec ton livre, tant escrit
 de ta main qu' imprimé, jusques à ce que ton corps soit reduit en

‘ ashes ; and thus thou shalt end thy days, to
 ‘ give an example to others, who would do
 ‘ the like. We command you, our Lieute-
 ‘ nant, to cause our present sentence to be put
 ‘ in execution.’

cendre ; & ainsi finiras tes jours, pour donner exemple aux autres,
 qui tel cas vovdroient commetre. Et a vous, nostre Lieutenant,
 commandons nostre presente sentence faites mettre en execution.

After the sentence was pronounc’d, our suf-
 ferer thought meet to make his dying speech,
 which, with the introduction to it, I find in
Lubienjecius’s Historiâ Reformationis Polonicae,
 which I thus translate ; together with the in-
 troduction ; *Lib. 2. C. 5. Freistad. 1685.*

‘ MICHAEL SERVETUS was a man of
 ‘ an excellent judgement, and being well versed
 ‘ in the learned languages, he carefully ap-
 ‘ plied himself to the study of physick, and
 ‘ he passed over into *Africa* (for from *Spain* to
 ‘ *Africa* is but a narrow passage) that he might
 ‘ improve his mind, as a bee gathers honey
 ‘ from brambles, so he made his advantage of
 ‘ reading the very Alcoran, which did bitter-
 ‘ ly rail at the doctrines of the Triune GOD
 ‘ and JESUS CHRIST, the most high GOD,
 ‘ begotton of the Essence of the Father,
 ‘ from all eternity, as well as the idolatry
 ‘ (particularly that of the worship of the
 ‘ virgin *Mary*) of those times ; ascribing at
 ‘ the same time uncommon honour to CHRIST,
 ‘ as the word of GOD and Embassador, the
 ‘ great Prophet, and a Light of all nations
 ‘ both now and hereafter, and a man endue
 ‘ with a divine power. He could not be ig-
 ‘ norant, as a man well versed both in sacred
 ‘ and profane things, that all the *Antinicens*
 ‘ the

the *Nicene*, and also the *Constantinopolitan* fathers; that is, indeed all christians had, for near four hundred years, maintained this unmoveable fundamental of the catholick truth, *I believe in one GOD the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in his only Son, JESUS CHRIST our LORD.* At that time the *Latin* doctors taught, that the Father was the author of the Son; and the *Greeks*, that he was the cause of the Son; and that all ecclesiastical prayers were addressed to one GOD, through CHRIST the mediator: Hence he freely declared his Opinion concerning one GOD the Father, and his Son JESUS CHRIST, whom the Father had risen from the dead, and had appointed him LORD and GOD, and Judge of the quick and dead; as not only most agreeable to the holy scriptures, but to all antiquity, and was truly catholick; concerning which, he frankly discoursed and wrote to men of learning and piety; many of which, that age, like the golden age, had gradually sent forth, and brought up for the reformation of a vast number of corruptions of the christian world. For this desire, indeed, of finding and propagating the truth, he incurred the hatred of malicious men, every where enemies to all justice, especially after he had published in *Germany*, anno 1531, seven books concerning the errors of the Trinity. Thus having suffered many things in *France* and *Germany*, he resolved to go to *Venice*, but was intercepted in his journey by CALVIN, and was miserably put to death at *Geneva*: He was a man that deserved a much longer life, and a better
end.

' end, with respect to us; but if we regard
 ' the judgment and permission of GOD, he
 ' had lived long enough, because he had lived
 ' well enough, and had answered the best and
 ' most glorious end of life; he design'd to
 ' write commentaries on the whole Old Te-
 ' stament, if he had not been burnt at Geneva.
 ' He was about to publish many discourses,
 ' with these titles, if I am not mistaken, viz.
 ' *Of the right understanding of the Scriptures:*
 ' *Of the Source of Apostacy, from the Apostolical*
 ' *Doctrines: Of the Power of Truth: Of the*
 ' *true Knowledge of one GOD: Of the Error of*
 ' *the T——y: Of the true Holy Spirit: Of the*
 ' *Exaltation of the Man JESUS: Of the Na-*
 ' *ture and Ministry of Angels: Of Zeal and*
 ' *Knowledge: Of the Efficacy of Faith: Of the*
 ' *Power of Charity: Of the Body, Soul and*
 ' *Spirit: Of the Born and Regenerated: Of Vo-*
 ' *cation and Election: Of Prescience and Pre-*
 ' *destination: Of Humane Works and Ceremonies:*
 ' *Of the Baptism of Water and of Spirit: Of the*
 ' *Lord's Supper: Of Sin and Satisfaction: Of Ju-*
 ' *stification: Of the Fear and Love of GOD:*
 ' *Of the true Church: Of the Head and Mem-*
 ' *bers of it: Of the Sleep of the Saints: Of the*
 ' *Resurrection of the Dead, and of the Change of*
 ' *the Living: Of the Day of Judgment: Of the*
 ' *Blessedness of the Elect, &c. Alphonsus Lin-*
 ' *curius in Præfat. Of the five Books of the De-*
 ' *claration of JESUS CHRIST, the SON of*
 ' *GOD.*

' I make no mention of what these mali-
 ' cious men, whose judgment, with respect to
 ' their adversary, is never sincere, have written
 ' concerning SERVETUS's doctrines; but these
 ' things which have been collected out of his
 ' writings,

writings, which I have by me, I do, for brevity's sake, omit : Let these few things, which candor requireth, be sufficient to add. These are his three positions : 1. This is JESUS CHRIST ; that is, JESUS of Nazareth, a true man, conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin, is the CHRIST of GOD, or the MESSIAS promised to the Fathers. 2. This is the SON of GOD, that is, this man substantially from GOD, inasmuch as from the true substance of GOD ; to wit, begotten of the Holy Ghost, is the true and natural, and properly the SON of GOD, whereas we are only adopted : So that the body of CHRIST has a real participation of the substance of GOD. 3. He is GOD, not that one and most high, who alone is GOD the Father ; yet substantially, because in him is the Godhead bodily ; the GOD of us all, exalted by GOD his Father. But some of these thoughts, indeed, especially concerning the proper and the essential generation in divine things, as well as some others of his doctrines we do not approve of ; but yet we do not therefore condemn a man of pious zeal and insuperable virtue, who had happily escaped the chains of popery : Neither do we ever think that any one, either for these, or such like opinions, is to be condemned as CALVIN has done : Of which affair, I shall give an exact account, after having given you SERVETUS's own speech, which he, swan like, pronounced just before his horrible death.

MICHAEL



MICHAEL SERVETUS's Speech,
before he was burnt at Geneva, con-
cerning the true Knowledge of GOD
and his SON.

‘ **T**HEY, who assert three substantial per-
‘ sons or hypostases in the Godhead,
‘ do insinuate to us that there are three Gods
‘ by nature equal ; for they tell us there are
‘ three substantial, distinct, and different
‘ things, and will have every one of those
‘ things or hypostases (as they call ’em) to
‘ be a God. Thus they do necessarily make
‘ three equal and distinct Gods : For since
‘ these persons or hypostases, differing in num-
‘ ber and fact, are each of ’em predicated of
‘ GOD, the consequence is plain, that there
‘ are as many predicates as subjects, and that
‘ the number of Gods must be equal to the
‘ number of persons. And altho’ in words
‘ they tell us there only one God ; yet in
‘ effect and reality they represent three
‘ to our understanding : For every man of the
‘ least skill, or ingenuity must see, that three
‘ are proposed to him as the objects of his
‘ adoration. No man yet could ever explain
‘ or inform us how he understood that these
‘ Three, of which each is a God, were only
‘ one God. There remains therefore, both on
‘ the mind and understanding, this insuperable
per-

' perplexity, and inexplicable confusion, that
 ' three are one, and one is three. For altho'
 ' the whole understanding intends, and is di-
 ' rected to one God, and proposeth to itself
 ' one God to be worshipped in spirit, and is
 ' thoroughly persuaded of the unity; yet im-
 ' mediately three distinct objects present
 ' themselves, and frequently appear to the
 ' mind, each of which it knows to be a
 ' God; and thus seeing that three equal and
 ' distinct Gods are represented to its view, it
 ' faints, being confounded between one and
 ' three; this is the issue of the *Greek Trias* or
 ' triplicity. But if on the other hand, we are
 ' willing to try the whole matter, by the
 ' word of the holy scripture, as by a touch-
 ' stone, and to find out the true knowledge of
 ' GOD, according to the words of GOD
 ' himself, all confusion and perplexity will im-
 ' mediately vanish, and our understanding
 ' will not be obliged to admit any thing in
 ' itself contradictory.

' We must therefore remark, first, that God
 ' is the common name of all power, domi-
 ' nion, and superiority, and properly belongs
 ' to him, who is over all, who is the Prince
 ' of all, the King of kings, and Lord of
 ' lords, of whom all are, and on whom they
 ' depend, who alone is the Father and Crea-
 ' tor of all things. But if taken in a more
 ' limited sense, it may also agree with the
 ' creatures, as whosoever has a power and su-
 ' periority from GOD, over another, he may
 ' be stiled his GOD. As *Moses*, *Exod. vii. 1.*
 ' is called, *the God of Pharaoh*. And *Cyrus*,
 ' *Esa. xlv. 3.* *the God of Israel*: And if only
 ' for example's sake, I may be permitted to
 D d ' join

THE HISTORY

' join profane things to sacred : *Augustus Caesar*
 ' was *Virgil's* and *Lentulus Cicero's* God, be-
 ' cause he was the author of his restitution.
 ' After this manner the scripture calls Gods,
 ' whomsoever the supreme and eternal GOD
 ' hath adorned and exalted above others, by
 ' any particular favour, virtue, or privilege.
 ' Hence the *Psalmist*, Pf. lxxxii. 6. *I have said*
 ' *ye are gods, and all of you are children of the*
 ' *most high* ; and *Exod.* xxii. 28. These are
 ' not Gods by nature, but by the grace and
 ' gift of GOD, and therefore they are never
 ' called by that name of the Deity, which
 ' belongs to the supreme GOD only ; for such,
 ' amongst the *Hebrews*, are named Gods and
 ' Lords, *Elohim* and *Adonai*, by which the
 ' names of the Deity are properly distinguish-
 ' ed ; but the proper and singular name JE-
 ' HOVAH is never attributed to them the
 ' Lord, (*here something in the manuscript,*
 ' *from which I have taken this account, is*
 ' *wanting*) : And therefore St. PAUL begins
 ' all his epistles after this manner ; *Grace and*
 ' *peace from GOD our Father, and our Lord*
 ' *JESUS CHRIST*. But to make three Gods
 ' by nature equal, is the master-piece of blas-
 ' phemy, and a cursed impiety. We must
 ' ascribe all things to one, viz. to him, who
 ' is the author of all things, and who for his
 ' own pleasure created them ; for he only by
 ' nature is of himself GOD ; all the rest are
 ' not Gods of themselves, they receive and
 ' acknowledge their measure of the Godhead,
 ' from the one GOD the Father : From GOD
 ' they are called Gods ; For the supreme and
 ' sovereign GOD is able to sanctify the crea-
 ' tures, and fill them with the divinity. But
 ' we

' we can by no means establish three Gods
 ' by nature equal, without setting up at the
 ' same time, three Creators or Almightyes,
 ' and three Fathers; for the name of God
 ' simply, belongs to the Father only, who is
 ' of himself GOD, and who created all things,
 ' and he alone is simply and absolutely called
 ' God. From what has been said, 'tis easy
 ' to shew, how our Lord JESUS CHRIST,
 ' the true SON of GOD, is called God:
 ' For from GOD the Father he receiveth the
 ' proportion of his Godhead, and from the
 ' true GOD, he is stiled the true GOD, the
 ' GOD indeed of all creatures, but not
 ' the Father's GOD, to whom he hath sub-
 ' jected all things. Moreover the Father
 ' who only by nature is GOD of himself, is
 ' nevertheless the LORD and GOD of the
 ' Son; which the Son declareth, *Joh. xiv. 28.*
 ' *I go unto my Father, for my Father is greater*
 ' *than I.* *Joh. xx. 17. I ascend unto my Father*
 ' *and your Father, and to my GOD and your*
 ' *GOD.* *Matth. xxvii. 46. My GOD, my*
 ' *GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?* *Rev. iii. 12.*
 ' *I will write upon him the name of my GOD,*
 ' *and the name of the city of my GOD.* Nei-
 ' ther doth their interpretation, who say, that
 ' the Son spoke these things as a man, not
 ' as GOD, avail any thing; to which we re-
 ' ply, that the manner of the Deity, which
 ' the Son possesseth, agrees with him as a man;
 ' for the Son is a man made GOD, or filled
 ' with the divinity, therefore the superiority
 ' of the Father is not taken away by the Son;
 ' for although the Son is constituted by the
 ' Father, our LORD, GOD and Head; yet
 ' the Father is still the LORD and GOD, and

THE HISTORY

' Head of the Son ; 1 Cor. xi. 3. and the
 ' Son is subject to the Father ; 1 Cor. xv. 28.
 ' and he is the manager and administrator of
 ' his Father's house ; Heb. ii. 8. and therefore
 ' the Son, as our GOD, and our Head, hath
 ' admitted the deity and superiority of the
 ' Father over himself. Hence the prophet
 ' eloquently explaining this twofold manner
 ' of the Godhead of the Father and Son,
 ' said to the Son, *Psal. xlv. 2, 6, 7. Thou art*
 ' *fairer than the children of men : Grace is poured*
 ' *into thy lips ; therefore, thy throne, O GOD,*
 ' *is for ever and ever. The sceptre of thy kingdom*
 ' *is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness, and*
 ' *hatest wickedness : therefore GOD, thy GOD,*
 ' *hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness, above*
 ' *thy fellows. See how DAVID in spirit calls*
 ' the Son GOD, and the Father GOD of the
 ' Son, for thy throne, O GOD, and hath anoint-
 ' ed thee, O GOD, are of the vocative case,
 ' and respect the Son ; but thy GOD, which
 ' follows, is spoken of GOD the Father, who
 ' did anoint and sanctify the Son. Likewise
 ' *Wisdom*, which represents the Son of GOD,
 ' cries out, after this manner, *Eccles. xxiv. 12.*
 ' *I took root in an honourable people, even in the*
 ' *portion of the Lord's inheritance.* Hence then
 ' it is manifest, to every one that makes the
 ' scripture his rule, that the Son is GOD from
 ' the Father ; and that, as GOD of all, con-
 ' stituted by the Father, he acknowledgeth
 ' the divinity and superiority of the Father
 ' over himself ; tho' this distinction of divine
 ' names is not found among the *Greeks* and
 ' *Latins*, and all are called by one common
 ' name God, yet by nature there is of him-
 ' self, but one eternal, most excellent, su-
 ' preme,

preme, immortal, invifible, incomprehen-
fible GOD, dwelling in inaccessible light,
who created and governs all things, from
whom all things are, and on whom all things
depend. This is the GOD of Gods, KING
of Kings, and LORD of Lords, JEHOVAH,
the Father, who alone, in the holy fcri-
pture, is fimplly and abfolutely ftiled GOD
and Father. He is indeed the univerfal Fa-
ther of all things, but in a proper and more
limited fenfe, the Father of our LORD
JESUS CHRIST, as St. PAUL moft ele-
gantly explains it; 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. *For
though there be that are called gods, whether in
heaven or in earth (as there be gods many, and
lords many) but to us there is but one GOD,
the Father, of whom are all things, and we in
him; and one LORD JESUS CHRIST, by
whom are all things, and we by him.* Hence it
is evident, that the creatures are adorn'd
with the name of the Deity; yet 'tis by the
favour and conceffion of the one fupreme
GOD, who is GOD of Gods, the Chief and
Father of all, who is above all, and through all,
and in you all, Eph. iv. 6. to whom all the
reft, as to the only fupreme GOD of him-
felf by nature, relate, and are fubjected,
and whom they obey; and this plurality of
fubordinate Gods bringeth no confufion,
neither is it repugnant to the unity of the
divine nature, fince every creature praiſeth
GOD, whom alone they regard and pant
after, as the moft high and fupreme GOD,
him only they worship and adore; this is
evident both in the Old and New Testa-
ment, that befides him, there is no other
God, Deut. vi. 4. *Hear, O Ifrael, the LORD*

THE HISTORY

our GOD is one LORD; and Deut. x. 17. The
 LORD your GOD is GOD of gods, and
 LORD of lords; a great GOD, and mighty
 and terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor
 taketh reward. And Psal. l. 1. The mighty GOD
 hath spoken; and St. PAUL, Gal. iv. 8. How-
 beit then when ye knew not GOD, ye did service
 unto them, which by nature are no gods; v. 9.
 But now after that ye have known GOD, how
 turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements.
 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. Which in his times he shall
 shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the
 KING of kings, and LORD of lords; who
 only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which
 no man can approach unto, whom no man hath
 seen, nor can see. 1 Thess. i. 9, 10. To serve
 the living and true GOD, and to wait for his
 Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead,
 even JESUS. 1 Tim. i. 17. Unto the KING
 eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise GOD,
 be honour and glory, for ever and ever, amen.
 1 Tim. ii. 5. There is one GOD, and one
 mediator between GOD and men, the man
 CHRIST JESUS. v. 6. who gave himself a
 ransom for all. 1 Tim. vi. 13. I give thee
 charge in the sight of GOD, who quickneth all
 things, and before CHRIST JESUS, who be-
 fore Pontius Pilate, witnessed a good confession.
 Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14. For the grace of GOD,
 that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men,
 teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly
 lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and god-
 ly in this present world; looking for that blessed
 hope, and the glorious appearing of the great
 GOD, and our saviour JESUS CHRIST, who
 gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from
 all iniquity, &c.

Thus

' Thus the scripture doth always distinguish
 ' between GOD, and the Son of GOD; and
 ' if you examine it with attention, you will find
 ' that the sacred writings do constantly, three
 ' or four places only excepted, in the most simple
 ' and absolute manner, call the Father GOD,
 ' and the Son his CHRIST JESUS; but the
 ' divinity of the Son is widely different from
 ' that of other gods; for which reason, GOD
 ' the Father deified and sanctified others by
 ' measure, as adopted sons; and thus MOSES
 ' and CYRUS were the particular gods of
 ' PHAROA H and *Israel*. But GOD sanctified
 ' CHRIST the blessed, as his proper Son,
 ' and poured out his Holy Spirit upon him
 ' without measure, and filled him with the
 ' whole divinity, of whose fulness we all re-
 ' ceive. Neither doth this in the least con-
 ' tradict the prophecies, that the Son should
 ' be equal with the Father in Godhead, Power
 ' and Glory; because all the Deity, Glory
 ' and Equality of the Son is from GOD the
 ' Father; as is acknowledged by the Son, as
 ' the gift of the Father, when he declareth,
 ' *Matth. xxvii. 18. All power is given unto me*
 ' *in heaven and in earth.* Likewise PETER,
 ' *Act. ii. 36. That GOD hath made the same*
 ' *JESUS, whom ye have crucified, both LORD*
 ' *and CHRIST.* And PAUL, *Phil. ii. 9, 10.*
 ' *Wherefore GOD also hath highly exalted him,*
 ' *and given a name which is above every name.*
 ' *That at the name of JESUS every knee should*
 ' *bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth,*
 ' *and things under the earth.* *Heb. i. 6. And let*
 ' *all the angels of GOD worship him.* *Eph. i. 20,*
 ' *21, 22, 23. He raised him from the dead, and*
 ' *set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly*
 ' *places,*

' places, far above all principality, and power,
 ' and might, and dominion, and every name that
 ' is named, not only in this world, but also in that
 ' which is to come; and hath put all things under
 ' his feet, and gave him to be the head over all
 ' things to the church, which is his body, the ful-
 ' ness of him, that filleth all in all. Heb. i. 5. For
 ' unto which of the angels said he at any time, thou
 ' art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?
 ' v. 8. Thy throne O GOD is for ever and ever;
 ' a sceptre of righteousness, is the sceptre of thy king-
 ' dom. v. 13. Sit on my right hand, until I
 ' make thine enemies thy footstool. And JOHN,
 ' Rev. v. 12. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain,
 ' to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and
 ' strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.
 ' And therefore St. PAUL declareth, that this
 ' Godhead of the Son, and his equality with
 ' the most high GOD, the Father, is not to
 ' be understood in respect of the Father
 ' himself, but in respect of the creatures;
 ' 1 Cor. xv. 27. For he hath put all things under
 ' his feet. But when he saith all things are put
 ' under him, it is manifest, that he is excepted,
 ' which did put all things under him. Ver. 28.
 ' And when all things shall be subdued unto him,
 ' then shall the Son also himself be subject unto
 ' him that put all things under him, that GOD
 ' may be all in all. For although the Son ac-
 ' knowledgeth that he, by the gift of the Fa-
 ' ther, was made equal to the Father, in
 ' might, glory and power, yet he would not
 ' abuse that gift of equality, and turn it to
 ' tyranny and rapine, according to St. PAUL,
 ' Phil. ii. 8. He humbled himself, and became
 ' obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.
 ' Ver. 9. Wherefore GOD also hath exalted him,
 ' and

‘ and subjected to him all things in heaven,
 ‘ and in earth, and under the earth. The al-
 ‘ mighty Father constituted a God and Lord
 ‘ to be worshiped by all creatures: In short,
 ‘ He conferr’d on his most beloved Son, as
 ‘ much Might, Power, Grace, Blessing,
 ‘ Glory and Godhead, as possible; and he
 ‘ bestowed as much Honour on the Son, both
 ‘ in his Equality, and in his Throne, as the
 ‘ Son could possibly desire; *Acts* iv. 12. For
 ‘ there is none other name under heaven given
 ‘ among men, whereby we must be saved. But in
 ‘ the name of the SON of GOD, our LORD
 ‘ JESUS CHRIST, who is the true LORD,
 ‘ and our GOD, as THOMAS; *Joh.* xx. 28.
 ‘ and PAUL and JOHN have most truly con-
 ‘ fess’d. To whom therefore, with GOD the
 ‘ Father, the most high and most merciful
 ‘ GOD, be Praise, Honour, and Glory, to
 ‘ everlasting ages. *Amen.*

“ When the unfortunate physician under-*Bib. Ang.*
 “ stood that he was sentenced to be burnt *P. 187.*
 “ alive, he (as CALVIN * himself tells us)
 “ earnestly

* *Fidelis Expo. Erro. MICH. SEEV. ubi docetur jure gladii coercendos esse Hæreticos.*

Q Uum meum Colloquium petiisset, missi sunt duo Senatores qui
 me in Carcerem deducerent. Quidnam vellet Rogatus dixit
 se veniam a me petere. Ego verò ingenuè præfatus, me nunquam
 privatas injurias fuisse persecutum; quanta potui mansuetudine ad-
 monui: jam me ante Annos sexdecim, non sine præsentis vitæ di-
 scrimine obtulisse meam operam ad eum sanandum, nec per me ste-
 tisse quominus resipiscenti manum pii omnes porrigerent. Deinde lite-
 ris privatis cum ipso placidè egisse, nec ullam captasse ostentationem
 Deniq; nullum a me Benevolentiae officium fuisse prætermis-
 sum, donec liberis meis objurgationibus magis exacerbatus, rabiem
 magis quàm bilem effudit. Verùm Sermonem de me abscindens,
 rogavi ut veniam potiùs ab æterno Deo petendam sibi Cogitaret, in
 E e quem

quem nimis atrociter contumeliosus fuerat, tres Hypostaseis ex ejus essentia delere tentans: ac Cerberum tricipitem vocans, si realis inter patrem ac filium ejus, & spiritum Distinctio Statueretur. Filium DEI placare in animum induceret, quem fœdè suis Commementis deformans, & negans in ea Carne quam induit nobis Similem, adempto fraternæ Conjunctionis vinculo, unicum redemptorem abnegaverat. Quum monendo & hortando nihil proficerem, nolui supra Magistri regulam sapere. Nam ab Hæretico homine, qui *avtoꝝ dnel* peccabat, secundum PAULI præceptum discessi.

“ earnestly desired, two hours before his execution, to see him”. ‘ CALVIN, with two ‘ magistrates, who were sent to accompany ‘ him, gave him a visit in the prison. SER- ‘ VETUS begg’d his pardon: CALVIN re- ‘ plied, he never thought of revenging him- ‘ self for any private injuries, which the pri- ‘ soner had done him. He added (as before) ‘ that he had laboured even to the hazard of ‘ his present life, for the space of sixteen years, ‘ to reclaim him from his errors. That he ‘ had conversed with him by private letters ‘ with great mildness, and continued to use ‘ him like a friend, till he found that SER- ‘ VETUS bitterly inveighed agatnst him, even ‘ to madness, because he had been so free in ‘ his friendly reproofs to him. He exhorted ‘ the prisoner to ask of the eternal GOD for- ‘ giveness, for having attempted to blot out ‘ three hypostases out of his essence. When ‘ CALVIN perceiv’d that his admonitions ‘ made no impression upon him, (he says) that ‘ he told him that he did not presume to be ‘ wiser than his master; and according to ‘ St. PAUL’S command went away from that ‘ heretick, who was condemn’d by his own ‘ conscience.

CALVIN

CALVIN says, ' That when SERVETUS *UbiSupra*,
 ' heard that he was condemn'd to death, p. 836.
 ' sometimes he appeared speechless, and with-^{837.}
 ' out any motion; sometimes he fetched deep
 ' sighs, and sometimes made bitter lamenta-
 ' tions, like a man in distraction; till at
 ' length he grew so weak, that he was only
 ' able (*tantum Hispanico more reboaret, miseri-*
 ' *cordia, misericordia*) to cry out after the
 ' *Spanish* way, mercy, mercy'.

" I have read in a printed book, that when *Bib. Ang.*
 " SERVETUS was carried to the place of p. 188.
 " execution, CALVIN stood at a window,
 " and smil'd when he saw him go by".

The author of the *Bibliothèque* says, that
 he was fully persuaded (*que c' est une calomnie*
execrable) that this was an execrable calumny.

But I think it may be said, without breach
 of charity, from a great many incidents al-
 ready passed, and some few that remain, that
 that reformer was far from being much dis-
 pleased at the spectacle.

WILLIAM * FARREL, whose fiery zeal *Ub. Supra*,
 we had occasion before to take notice of, p. 837.
 whom CALVIN calls his brother minister,
 (*Symmista Fratris FARELLI*) attended him to
 his funeral pile, had much ado to make him
 say, that he desired the people should pray for
 him. CALVIN is pleas'd to make some very
 consistent remarks upon this passage, *viz.*
 † how his conscience cou'd permit him even

E c 2

to

* The author of the *Bibliothèque* calls him Le Bon homme FARREL.
 That good man FARREL, in a burlesque sense.

† Porro qua id Conscientia sibi facere perniserit, non Video.
 Scripserat enim manu sua, fidem hic diabolicam regnare, nullam
 esse nobis Ecclesiam, nullum DEUM, quia infantes baptizando,
 CHRISTUM abnegaremus, &c.

to do that, I can't conceive ; for he wrote with his own hand, that the faith of devils reign'd in *Geneva* ; that we had no church, nor God there ; because, that by baptizing of infants, we did disown CHRIST. He adds several other good-natur'd remarks, which I shan't give myself the trouble of translating at present.

Bib. Ang. " Thus that unfortunate physician ended
p. 189. " his days, without speaking or shewing any
CALV. re- " signs of repentance.

fut. p. 836, " * *Champel*, or *Champey*, a small eminence,
837. " about a musket shot from *Geneva*, was then
* *Bib. Ang.* " the common place of execution ; I had the
p. 189. " curiosity to visit the spot, hardly known to
" any traveler, and to see the very ground on
" which SERVETUS expired in the flames.

Ub. Supra. LUBIENJES IUS makes the following re-
marks upon this bloody execution ; ' † This
† Atrox profecto ' was indeed (say he) a cruel act ; and in the
facinus & ' opinion of all good men, directly repugnant
omnium ' to the gentle and humble spirit of CHRIST,
æquiorum ' but perfectly agreeable to the temper of
judicio ' such who are for drawing down *Bonargean*
CHRISTI ' fire from heaven, in imitation of ELIAS,
Spiritus ' who did it for the destruction of some in-
mansuetos, ' hospitable *Samaritans* (only they punished the
& humili ' guilty, but CALVIN destroyed the inno-
prorsus ' cent).
Contra- ' rium, sed
cum illo

Boanergeon ignem de Cælo ad perdendos quosdam *Samaritanorum* inhospitales, deducere Eliæ Exemplo volentium (nisi quod illi fontes perdere voluerunt, CALVINUS infontem perdidit) Conveniens., &c.

CALV. E- ' He adds, That FARREL not only deter-
pist. & ' mined that SERVETUS was to be cut off,
Resp. ' but also did encourage CALVIN, who, as
p. 115, 116. ' he

he says, was desirous to mitigate the punishment, to proceed against SERVETUS with the utmost severity; and went so far, as to determine the extirpation of all hereticks, which gave the great GROTIUS sufficient reason to say, * *That the spirit of Antichrist* * *did appear as well at Geneva as at Rome.* CALVIN therefore not only compleated this villany, but thought it necessary to vindicate himself, and publish a piece, wherein he undertook to prove (tho' after a very weak and silly manner) that hereticks ought to be put to death. That piece had for its title, *Fidelis Expositio Errorum MICHAELIS SERVETI, & brevis eorundem Refutatio, ubi docetur jure gladij coercendos esse Hæreticos; i. e. A faithful Exposition of the Errors of MICHAEL SERVETUS, and a brief Confutation of the same, in which is shewn, that Hereticks are to be punished with Fire and Sword.* BEZA also publickly defended the same, having this title; *De Hæreticis à Civili Magistratu puniendis; i. e. Of punishing Hereticks by the Civil Magistrates.* Both this and that of CALVIN, were printed by ROBERT STEPHENS, anno 1554. Each of these reformers taking a dart out of the quiver of the church of Rome, and her adherers, to thrust it with a greater fury into the sides of hereticks of their own making. : (LUBIENJECIUS adds) That if he was to choose, he had rather be in the place of OECCOLAMPADIUS, and ZWINGLIUS, than of CALVIN and BEZA, tho' these were much more learned. CALVIN truly was so well pleased with what he had done,

BEZ. in
vit. CALV.
& Epist.
ad Dudit.

* Spiri-
tum Anti-
christi non
tantum ad
Tiburim
sed & ad
Lacum
Lemanum
apparuisse.

Lub. ubi
Supra
p. 106.

and

THE HISTORY

‘ and remained still so furiously angry with SER-
 ‘ VETUS, that several years after his execution,
 ‘ he would not let him lie quiet in his grave ;
 ‘ or as the author has it, *mortuo leoni barbam*
 ‘ *Vulfit*, calling him a nasty proud *Spanish* dog,
 ‘ in his comment on the 20th of the *Acts* :
 ‘ For which reason FRANCISCUS LISMA-
 ‘ NINUS, in his copy of CALVIN’S com-
 ‘ mentaries, which I have by me. Upon
 ‘ these words of CALVIN, SERVETUS the
 ‘ *Spanish* dog ; has set down this note, with
 ‘ his own hand, in the margin, *Canis a te*
 ‘ *factus*, a dog of thy own making ; to which
 ‘ he adds this distich.

Cur tibi sum Calvine Canis ? Tuus efficit ardor
Ne Canis (heu !) dicar, sed miseranda Cinis.

The author of the *Bibliothèque* says, “ That
 “ he should be guilty of a very great omis-
 “ sion, should he not do justice to the present
 “ illustrious magistrates, and learned divines
 “ of *Geneva*, by letting the world know they
 “ are so far from approving the conduct of
 “ their fathers. That they express their ab-
 “ horrence, for all manner of persecutions,
 “ upon all occasions.” They believe, that
 “ whoever preaches up persecution, ought to
 “ be looked upon as a seditious man, and a di-
 “ sturber of the society.” It were to be wished,
 in consequence of this character, that they
 would quite erase that article in their con-
 fession of faith, drawn up by CALVIN
 himself, viz.

‘ We

‘ We detest all the heresies which have an-
 ‘ tiently disturb’d the churches, and especially
 ‘ the diabolical imaginations of S E R V E T U S,
 ‘ who attributes to the L O R D J E S U S a fan-
 ‘ tastical divinity ; forasmuch as he calls him
 ‘ the Idea and Pattern of all things, and
 ‘ names him personal or figurative S O N of
 ‘ G O D ; and finally, forges for him a body of
 ‘ three elements uncreated, and thus mixeth
 ‘ and destroyeth the two natures.

Now to this very day, all the candidates
 for the ministry in *Switzerland*, and also
 in the *French* reformed churches abroad,
 which are very numerous in *Holland*, *Cleve-*
land, *Hanover*, *Zell*, *Brandenbourg*, *Prussia*,
 &c. are bound, before their ordination, to
 subscribe that article of the confession ;
 perhaps upon trust, and without having
 ever read one single word in Dr. S E R V E -
 T U S’s book ; as if it was not inconsistent
 with generous minds, to blacken the me-
 mory of men, who can’t defend themselves,
 and whose characters can only be known
 thro’ the vitiated eyes of their enemies.

In C A L V I N’s *Theol. Tract.* there’s a form Pag. 148.
 of confession of faith, which all the students
 of the publick school of *Geneva* are to make
 before the rector, wherein is this article :
 ‘ Altho’ G O D is one simple essence, yet there is
 ‘ in him three distinct persons ; wherefore I de-
 ‘ test all the heresies condemn’d by the first
 ‘ council of *Nice*, as likewise those condemn’d
 ‘ in the councils of *Ephesus* and *Calcedon* ; to-
 ‘ gether

THE HISTORY

gether with all those errors that have been received by SERVETUS and his followers.

May the christian world learn to throw off all such shackles and fetters ; and asserting the power of private judgment, possess themselves of the real liberty of the Sons of G O D.

F I N I S.



